DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 316 702 CE 054 345

AUTHOR	Cross, Malcolm
TITLE	Vocational Training of Young Migrants in the United Kingdom.
INSTITUTION	European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, Berlin (West Germany).
REPORT NO	ISBN-92-825-6126-7
PUB DATE	86
NOTE	158p.; For related documents, see CE 054 340-344.
AVAILABLE FROM	UNIPUB, 4661-F Assembly Drive, Lanham, MD 20706-4391 (Catalogue No. HX-45-85-050-EN-C, $4.00).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Reference Materials - Bibliographies (131)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Access to Education; Dropout Characteristics; Dropouts; *Education Work Relationship; Elementary Secondary Education; *Employment Problems; Family Influence; Family Status; *Job Training; Migrant Children; Migrant Employment; Migrants; *Migrant Youth; Minority Groups; Multicultural Education; Second Language Instruction; Student Mobility; *Vocational Education
IDENTIFIERS	*United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

This study looked at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, and analyzed such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the situation in the United Kingdom. The study identified the following problem areas: (1) problems relating to the education of children of migrant workers and, (2) problems concerning access to vocational training and the links between success at school, success in vocational training, success in employment, and access to the labor market. Analysis of the data suggested some conclusions, among them: (1) the question of vocational training for ethnic minorities and migrant young people cannot be separated from an understanding of the position these groups have come to occupy in British society; (2) contrary to many assumptions, these young people are highly motivated and at least as able as those to whom they can be reasonably compared; (3) these youths represent a demand for high quality skill training that is currently unmet; and (4) although a transformation will not occur through training itself, substantial improvements in access and availability will greatly enhance the possibility of equal opportunity in employment. (Includes a 27-page bibliography of over 400 references.) (KC)

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CEDEFOP Document

Vocational training of young migrants in the United Kingdom

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training

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Vocational training of young migrants in the United Kingdom

This study was drawn up by Malcolm Cross

First edition, Berlin 1986

Published by:

CEDEFOP — European Centre for the Development of
Vocational Training,
Bundesallee 22, **D-1000 Berlin 15**
Tel. (0 30) 88 41 20 Telex 184 163 eucen d

The Centre was established by Regulation (EEC) No 337/75
of the Council of the European Communities

This publication is also available in the following languages:

DE ISBN 92-825-6125-9
FR ISBN 92-825-6127-5
IT ISBN 92-825-6128-3

Cataloguing data can be found at the end of this publication

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1986

ISBN: 92-825-6126-7

Catalogue number: HX-45-85-050-EN-C

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Printed in the FR of Germany

CEDEFOP

This study
was drawn up by Malcolm Cross
on behalf of CEDEFOP - European Centre for the Development of
Vocational Training, Berlin 1985

This study was undertaken jointly by the Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations (University of Warwick, Coventry, U.K.)

Project coordinator : Duccio Guerra

This is the second study to be undertaken as part of a project on **"THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF YOUNG MIGRANTS IN BELGIUM, FRANCE, THE UNITED KINGDOM, DENMARK AND LUXEMBOURG".**
It includes the latest and most relevant documentation and statistical data on this subject.

This study which looks at the overall situation of the immigrant population, and young immigrants in particular, analyses such problem areas as the transition from school to working life and the inadequacies of initial training with relation to the vocational training, employment and unemployment situation.

Published by :

European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training,
Bundesallee 22, **D-1000 Berlin 15**, tel. : (030)884 12-0

The Centre was established by Regulation (EEC) N° 337/75 of the Council of the European Communities.

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INTRODUCTION

Young people of foreign origin, second generation youngsters, young immigrants: the diversity of terms that can be used is indicative of the problems of defining such complex and varied realities which are so dependent on social, historical, environmental, emotional and conjunctural factors that they cannot be explained by macrosocial analysis. We should first state our conviction that there is no such thing as "young immigrants", or at least not in the sense of a clearly definable, homogeneous grouping, a factor which imposes inevitable limits on a study which, like ours, aims at understanding an extremely complex and diversified situation.

These youngsters constitute a fairly consistent notional population within the European Community. Little is known about them: their position in the environment of school, training and employment, their aspirations and their problems. There are few statistics in any country and what information is available is either at such an aggregate level as to be of little value or else so localized that it cannot be used as a basis for generalizations. Yet knowledge of the problem is a prerequisite for any attempt to seek a solution.

In the light of these considerations, CEDEFOP embarked on a joint primary research project with the Berlin Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BIBB) on the situation of young migrants in the Federal Republic of Germany. For anyone wishing to gain a greater insight into the situation, as far as we are aware, this is still the only material available for the Federal Republic as a whole. The research findings encouraged CEDEFOP to undertake secondary investigations to determine how much was known about the problem in other host countries within the Community: Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom. This report forms part of a series of monographs which are the product of this secondary research.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Even though the national monographs are too specific for any comparisons or aggregation, it is surprising to find that they do all point to very similar, if not identical, problem areas.

- Problems relating to the education of children of migrant workers;

- Problems concerning access to vocational training and the links between
  - success at school
  - success in vocational training
  - success in employment
  - access to the labour market.

An analysis of the monographs confirms the existence of close links between the various problem zones, converging to a central point which could be termed the "level of cultural, social and vocational integration". From a scientific point of view, it would be wrong to attempt a comparison of these problem zones on the basis of the monographs, as these are solely the product of an intelligent review of existing documents and other data (identified, collected and collated, from many different sources and with some considerable effort).

Accordingly, we consider it expedient to give the readers of these monographs a number of "general impressions" we have obtained from a review of all the monographs.

THE FAMILY AND THE SCHOOL

Family composition (e.g. a mixed marriage between a national and a non-national) and, more important, its socio-cultural category play a significant part in a young person's school career and academic success there. At least until the end of a youngster's education and training, the family remains not only a "sanctuary" but also the dominant cultural and behavioural influence. The dominant but not the only influence, for the youngster will, from his early socialization in the school environment, be constantly trying to reconcile the different cultural models offered by the family and the host society. In this process of reconciliation there is an obvious risk of loss of cultural identity.

There is, nevertheless, a whole series of interacting and mutually reinforcing determinants that has a significant effect on the educational life chances of young children:

1. Knowledge of the host language(s): all the national monographs show that lack of linguistic competence in the language(s) of the host country has a determining influence on academic performance. In Luxembourg, for example, proficiency in three languages is necessary: Luxembourgish as the vernacular, German in primary school, switching to French in secondary school.
"A lack of knowledge of French and language learning difficulties are obviously an initial handicap which has repercussions at every level of educational and social integration". (3)

In Denmark, "the term foreign language national is used more commonly than immigrant" and "this language barrier may continue even after immigrants have become Danish citizens..." (2)

"The ability of foreigners to express themselves in writing in the German language is far below standard". (5)

2. Time of arrival in the host country: the monographs agree that "late arrivals" usually encounter problems with assimilation, resulting in academic failure in their first year at school and having to stay down in the same year once or even more.

3. Pre-school attendance: the number of foreign two- to three-year-olds attending pre-school units is disproportionately low. When the children do take part, these activities have a beneficial effect on their future schooling. In Denmark (1980),

for example, only 39% of foreign children in the 2-3 age group attended play school. The percentage is slightly higher in Germany and France.

There is, however, a general feeling that experimental schemes promoted and guided by the European Commission in pursuance of the Council directive on the schooling of migrant workers' children (+) might help to reduce academic failure by creating an awareness that there may be a multicultural society. The Danish report is quite explicit on this point.

Drop-out and failure rates in primary education differ in the various contexts studied, but there is a general consensus that after primary education, there is a substantial decline in the number of children of foreign extraction attending general, technical and vocational education. The more advanced the level of education, the fewer the immigrants. Even allowing for the small number of young nationals who go on to further education, immigrant pupils are markedly under-represented.

Despite the fact that this analysis is based on a number of different contexts and situations, in this sphere it points to a series of common factors:

- a lack of motivation for staying on in education, due to academic failure or low achievement;
- family pressure on children to leave school early and find a job;
- career guidance, often based on aptitude tests which do not allow for differences in the individuals being tested, with the result that youngsters are too readily directed towards "practical activities" or the less "demanding" subject options at school;
- spatial segregation, leading (as all the monographs show) to the creation of a "ghetto", which also has a negative effect on the learning of the host language and, at a more general level, on integration into society and the more specific environment of school.

(+) Directive: Official Journal No. L 30, 6.8.1977

SCHOOL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

By the time these young people reach the minimum school leaving age, there are far fewer opportunities open to them. In Germany, the certificate that marks the end of compulsory education is a requirement for admission to vocational education under the dual system, and even when there is no such formal impediment, access to vocational education is conditional on success at school. The future prospects of foreign youngsters both in training and on the job market are, in fact, dependent on their performance at school, one of the reasons why the Community has made this basic problem area a priority.

"The majority of research findings confirm that the key factor in the integration of young people of foreign origin is their schooling" (3).

"Immigrant youngsters remain in education until the age of 15 because it is compulsory, but then they are excluded from all branches of education" (4).

"The reason why a pupil who has to repeat years at school is bound to be an "under-user" of the educational facilities available is that academic failure has a strong influence on guidance given by the family..." (1).

So failure leads to failure. Most of these young people come onto the labour market at an early age and try, not without difficulty, to find work in areas which demand little or no skill. By contrast, it is mainly youngsters who have had a "normal" school career who move on to vocational education within the conventional education system (technical and vocational schools) or an officially recognized training system.

The obstacle race continues, however. Here too, the same old discriminating factors influence selection and, even by comparison with nationals of the same social stratum, the number of youngsters of foreign origin is disproportionately low.

One determining factor is knowledge of the host language: "When you realize that almost all teaching, particularly in technical education, is done through the medium of German, you can readily imagine the difficulties confronting children of foreign workers, even if the children were born in Luxembourg. They have to be proficient in four languages" (4).

One factor which prevents the youngsters from entering vocational training is "primarily, the need to earn immediately" (5). The major obstacle in all the context investigated, however, is the failure of vocational training systems to cater for the specific needs of groups of foreign youngsters, including those who, as in the United Kingdom, are not so much foreign as from "ethnic minorities" (6).

It is a known fact that the dominant culture of any country tends to undermine, if not completely suppress, minority cultures. This applies not only to immigrants but also to peasant and working class cultures. Modern technological and occupational culture and the systems which support it are created by and for the indigenous population.

The inability or unwillingness to adapt educational systems to the specific needs of groups who make demands of the systems and look for a response leads to the last resort of compensatory measures, or perhaps one should call them precautions. Measures of this kind are often taken for "underprivileged groups" in general rather than specifically for young immigrants. In Denmark, for example:

"Danish legislation provides support for handicapped youngsters within the framework of vocational training. And language difficulties count as a handicap ..." (2).

Large numbers of these young people attend "supplementary classes" in Luxembourg, "youth schools" in Denmark, "pre-vocational courses" or "local missions" in France and "social advancement" courses in Belgium. It is also not unusual for parallel systems of education to be set up to cater for the needs of foreign youngsters by their own national authorities and, being an alternative to "non-training", to an extent they attract drop-outs from the conventional educational and training systems in the host countries.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

The transition from training to employment might be more accurately expressed as a transition from "non-training" to shrinking labour markets. The introduction of new technology into industry is steadily reducing the number of repetitive, low-skill, manual jobs formerly done by "first generation" immigrants brought in to contribute to the economic growth of industrialized countries.

An additional factor is that immigrant labour is concentrated in declining or threatened areas of employment like the steel and building industries.

The pressure exerted on youngsters by family, school and careers advisers to find employment at an early age has already been mentioned. When they do find work, though, it is usually in unskilled jobs, so that their lack of training is parallelled and aggravated by a lack of useful work experience.

"...immigrants will never achieve cultural or social assimilation so long as they are segregated on the fringes of the working world " (1).

There seems to be no great discrepancy between the numbers of young nationals and non-nationals without jobs. In France, in fact, unemployment trends appear to be developing along exactly the same lines. It is in the quality of employment rather than quantity that there seems to be an appreciable gap.

Foreign young people tend predominantly to be employed in manual or unskilled jobs. One wonders whether the present generation is not merely reproducing the pattern of its predecessors, with the added problem of an overall decline in the number of jobs available.

AREAS OF INVESTMENT

This brief examination of some of the problem areas which affect the future of young people of foreign origin inevitably touches only on the surface; no original discoveries can be claimed and no new proposals can be made. Nevertheless, we feel that attention might well be drawn to certain areas in which it would be worth investing research and positive action:

1. Too little is known about these young people's situations and problems and the statistical information available is non-existent, fragmentary or contradictory. There is an evident need for a major investment in research on the wide variety of situations encountered in this particular group of young people and the individual connotations.

2. Recognition of the undoubted fact that it is at school that the future of the youngsters in society and the working world is determined should point to a clearer definition of how to mobilize immigrant leaders, employers, unions, the authorities and families to ensure that they give maximum support for schemes set up by the European Commission in pursuance of the directive on "the schooling of the children of migrant workers".

3. The ability of vocational training systems to adjust to the specific needs of foreign youngsters and, more generally, underprivileged youth as a whole is a far-reaching social challenge. We need to understand where and how adjustments can be made without having to resort to remedial measures that are not very effective and that segregate the recipients even more.

4. Teaching of the host country's language or languages is still a challenge in terms of teaching methods and aids, the imparting of greater motivation and a commitment in the community at large.

5. The lack of information and the shortcomings of educational and vocational guidance point to the need for a greater understanding and a clearer definition of methods of stimulating interaction and integration amongst teachers, counsellors, families and the community.

6. Finally, there is a clear need for positive measures to make it easier for foreign youngsters to gain access to vocational training, and to support while they are training.

Duccio Guerra
CEDEFOP

NOTES

The quotations in this article have been taken from reports on the training situation of youngsters of foreign origin in

1. Belgium[+]
2. Denmark[+]
3. France[+]
4. Luxembourg[+]
5. Federal Republic of Germany[++]
6. United Kingdom[+]

[+] monographs will soon be available in French, English and German (also summary reports in Danish, Italian and Dutch)

[++] research report published in French, English and German

Duccio Guerra
CEDEFOP

ETHNIC MINORITY YOUNG PEOPLE AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations
University of Warwick
Coventry, U.K.

January 1985

ABSTRACT

This report argues that the question of vocational training for ethnic minorities and migrant young people cannot be separated from an understanding of the position these groups have come to occupy in British society. The first part provides a summary of this evidence. The second part argues that, contrary to many assumptions, these young people are highly motivated and at least as able as those to whom they can be reasonably compared. Moreover, they reveal an unfulfilled demand for high quality skill training that is currently unmet.

The report concludes by arguing that while a transformation will not occur through training itself, substantial improvements in access and availability will greatly enhance the possibility of equal opportunity in employment.

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was originally prepared for CEDEFOP in 1981. I am most grateful for the help I received at that time from Ruth Parker. It was revised and updated in 1984 when an additional chapter was added (Chapter IV). This uses some material from another unpublished report for CEDEFOP prepared in 1983 (Malcolm Cross and Juliet Edmonds, Training Opportunities for Ethnic Minorities in the U.K.). I should like to thank Juliet Edmonds and my colleagues John Solomos and John Wrench for contributing to my understanding of training issues through their writing and through many discussions. I am especially grateful to Rose Goodwin and Gurbakhsh Hundal for typing this report with such cheerfulness and skill.

MC
May, 1985

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PREFACE

This report arises from an initative of CEDEFOP to provide an initial assessment of the vocational training position of young immigrants and minorities in West Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Denmark and the United Kingdom. The initiative is founded upon the belief that migrants and minorities do not become integrated automatically into the mainstream of host societies and that many of the problems that arise are amenable to policy intervention. This report therefore has a practical purpose - to contribute to a Community wide effort to equalise educational and occupational opportunities so that those of the so-called 'second' or 'third' generation do not go on to become a permanently disadvantaged sector of each constituent society. It is an assumption of these reports that genuine problems of integration do exist and that the Commission has a role, in partnership with national governments, in promoting effective means whereby migrant origin does not become permanently associated with occupational marginality.

Objectives

More precisely this report may be said to have the following objectives

i. to describe the migrant descended population of the U.K.

ii. to assess the social and economic circumstances of this population, particularly those within the age range 16-25

iii. to examine the position of these minorities in the British education system

iv. to assess any special features there may be in the transition of minority young people from school to work

v. to describe in brief the vocational training system in the U.K.

vi. to evaluate the success of minorities in achieving access to approriate pre-vocational and vocational training

vii. to examine the experiences minorities have on pre-vocational and vocational courses and to assess how far these are associated with their migrant origins

The report therefore follows these objectives closely. The first two chapters consist of an overview of the young minority and migrant population in the United Kingdom together with an examination of their social and economic conditions. With regard to the latter, particular attention is paid to housing conditions, to the spatial location of minorities in the so-called 'inner city' and to problems of occupational marginality and unemployment. The report then focuses on the education and training position of minority youngsters, on the training system and, finally, the report concludes with recommendations for improvement.

Definition of terms

There is a major problem in the definition of the groups to be included in this report. In the first place there is the difficulty of deciding which groups to cover. In the British case this arises most clearly when considering the immigration of people from the Republic of Ireland to the U.K. There is no doubt that this migration is both of considerable size and also that it shares many features in common with the migration of Southern Europeans to other member states of the Community. This is to say the migration occurred at times of labour shortage and that it tended to serve the purpose of replacing the indigenes in occupations of an unskilled or semi-skilled nature. However, in the British case, migration from Ireland is all but invisible. It is for the most part unrecorded and uncontrolled and although it is still true to say that those of recent Irish origin still occupy positions of low socio-economic status, the similarities of language and the absence of any evidence on widespread discrimination make it very hard to include this group in this report.

Also, Britain never needed to develop a migrant labour system of the same kind as that in many other countries of Northern Europe. The result is that while the countries of Southern Europe represent a source of migrant labour, they are clearly secondary in importance to those from elsewhere. Again, the absence of information and the relative size of this group makes it exceedingly hard to encompass them in the report's coverage. Accordingly, while every effort is made to incorporate information on migrants to the U.K. of Mediterranean origin, they form a small part of the subsequent analysis. This represents a major difference between this report and those for other European countries and the implications of this difference are discussed in the next chapter.

For the purposes of this report therefore the migrant population of the U.K. is defined as those of the so-called 'New Commonwealth' origin and Pakistan plus, where possible, those of Mediterranean descent. However there are two additional complications. In the first place, the population so defined is rapidly becoming transformed into a non-migrant one which, as we shall see, has important implications for statistical data. Second, the 'New Commonwealth' population is far from being homogeneous. Although it is possible to divide it into those who came to Britain from the Americas, particularly the Caribbean, and those who came directly or indirectly from the Asian Sub-Continent, it is dangerous to assume that these groups have much in common, other than their origins in recent migration. Moreover these categories are themselves highly complex, split as they are into various religious, cultural and national groups. A great deal of care therefore has to be taken in the interpretation of many figures that follow. This is particularly so because the data are all derived from secondary sources and quite clearly the collectors of such information have used varied definitions, often as a reflection of the fact that the research in question has had quite different objectives. On the whole however 'New Commonwealth' may be taken to include Pakistan, while 'country of birth' is taken to mean what it implies and labels implying national origin (such as 'Indian') include those born in the country concerned and those whose parents were born there. Other labels, such as 'West Indian' and 'Asian' clearly do not refer to national origins but are intended to designate those born in these parts of the world or whose parents were born there.

It is quite evident that these problems of definition are of major significance. However, it is true to say that those of recent migrant origin, who are also of a distinctive racial and cultural type, have come to occupy a particular and identifiable place in British society. It is perhaps on this level alone that it is possible to defend the definitions and exclusions which are used in this report. This can be the only justification for occasionally using statistical sources that simply divide samples into 'white' and 'non-white'. While some comment will be made on these labels below, it is important to note that not all those of 'New Commonwealth' origin are non-white while, quite clearly, not all whites are indigeneous. Simply to add that some 'West Indians' are in fact of 'Asian' descent underlines the fundamental difficulty with which any research in this area is faced.

Limitations on sources

In addition to the problems of definition outlined above, it must also be said that major difficulties arise from the inadequacies of secondary source material. The most crucial, and in some senses the most puzzling, of these difficulties relates to the absence of racial or minority categories in national data sources. The Census of 1981, for example, excludes any information on race or migrant origin except for a question on the birthplace of the individual respondent. The 1971 Census was similarly flawed although this did include a question on parental birthplace. However, unlike many countries of the World which have minority populations, Britain has chosen, until very recently, to ignore rather than to monitor their progress. Equally, unlike the United States and a number of European countries, Britain is not noted for taking social research particularly seriously, at least at an official level. As a result the quality of sample information is also highly deficient. What there is consists of a minimal amount of national data together with very small scale studies which suffer from the usual problems of reliability. As regards the former category of information, this report makes use of hitherto unpublished material deriving from three national sample surveys. Two of these, the National

Housing and Dwelling Survey of 1977/78 and the Labour Force Survey of 1983, are half per cent national sruveys designed to provide general information on housing conditions and labour force activity. While a half per cent sample size produces overall numbers of impressive proportions, no effort is made to over-sample in areas of high minority concentration and therefore the total numbers of those of New Commonwealth origin are very small. Moreover, for reasons explained in a more detailed note on these statistical sources in Appendix A, it is often not possible to determine precisely what is the sample size. It is probable however that a crucial source, such as the Labour Force Survey, includes a total minority sample of something in excess of six thousand respondents. However this implies that the total number of those between the age of 16 and 24 in this national survey would be no more than five hundred of West Indian origin, three hundred of Indian descent and no more than two hundred and fifty who were either born in or descended from those born in Pakistan and Bangladesh. These limitations on data sources must be born in mind in any subsequent discussion in this report. It will be noted that difficulties of estimating total sample size frequently prevent the inclusion of numbers in subsequent tables. However where sample sizes appear to fall dangerously low an indication to this effect is made.

It is inevitably the case that the varied data sources drawn upon in this report not only use different definitions for migrant or minority groups but also collect information in different ways. for example the National Training survey, which provided information of very considerable relevance to this report but which is now rather dated, categorizes the sample into country of birth (which is of limited relevance when talking about young people) or into those who are defined as 'non-white' by the interviewer. This practice, which is also found in other government surveys, is less desirable than the self-identification of respondents. In most cases where a simple racial division is used in the statistical sources it reflects this practice. In most other cases where more complete information is given, this is normally because the respondents themselves described their descent in these terms.

Finally, a cautionary note must be included on the date of collection of the information used. Wherever possible the most recent figures have been given, but in some cases the relevance of the statistical source has assumed greater importance. The National Training Survey, which was an ad hoc investigation conducted in 1976-76, is one such case in point. This problem is perhaps at its most severe in the discussion of unemployment figures. The dramatic down-turn in economic activity in the U.K. during the last five years means that we do not have up to date and adequate information on the implications of this recession for minorities. It will be apparent that where discussion is included on this question it is often dependent on locally gathered and thus rather inadequate data sources.

CHAPTER I THE YOUNG MINORITY AND MIGRANT POPULATION

It is now very clear that the post war expansion of the major European economies produced widespread problems of labour shortage. The consequences of the declining birth rate in the 1930's and the loss of life during the war itself meant that Northern Europe had minimal reserves of labour to exploit the new opportunities of peace time expansion. Part of this problem was solved by rises in real wages that damped down the demand for labour and set in train processes of mechanisation, but a significant part was overcome by immigration. However, although each economy had an unfilled labour demand, they differed considerably in their sources of supply. Whereas Germany and France were able to attract labour from the European periphery, Great Britain found it easier and more convenient to encourage migration from Ireland and the poorer sections of the old Empire, which was itself now rapidly being transformed into a loose collection of politically self-governing countries. By the late 1960's the demand for less skilled labour declined and the supply increased as thd post-war rise in the birthrate took effect, so that by the time that Britain had shaken loose all but the last vestiges of Empire and begun to move in the direction of Europe, the need for a European style migration system had diminished. The 1971 Immigration Act established a European system just as the demand had waned and the Act became a device in effect for stopping rather than transforming the migrant flow. However, should the need for migration ever return, Britain now has legislation which will establish the pattern of foreign 'guest' workers so evident on the Continent. The result of the Colonial connection, however, is that Britain has a binary rather than a unitary system of migration. Leaving aside the Irish migration for the reasons mentioned in the introduction, the first part consists of the immigration of peoples from the so-called 'New Commonwealth'. This migration flow started in 1948 with the arrival of the converted troopship the 'Empire Windrush' bringing Jamaicans to Britain and ran through until 1962 with the promulgation of the Commonwealth Immigration Act. By that time the flow had changed from being dominated by Caribbean migrants to one largely from the Indian sub-continent. Family reunion and some continued primary migration followed, but by the time of the 1971 Immigration Act this migration was all but complete.

1.1 Migrants or Minorities?

It is essential to point out that all New Commonwealth migrants under the first system were accorded rights of British citizenship under the Nationality Act of 1947. In addition to legal, political and civil rights this meant that they had a right of abode in the UK without having to become naturalised or having to achieve a residence qualification. It follows therefore that these migrnats are not 'foreigners' int he sense of being aliens and, of course, their children are not 'immigrants'. The fact that this label has often been retained for those of the second or even third generation is more an indication of their status as racial minorities than it is of their position as citizens. Moreover, the earlier a group migrated to Britain after the Second World War, the smaller the proportion of that group that has been born abroad and the more the age structure of this group will be skewed towards the older categories. This is evident from Table 1.1 which shows that only 7.8 per cent of those who are West Indian by birth are under 20, compared with more than 30 per cent of those who are British by birth. By 1983, ony2 per cent of those born in the Caribbean were under the age of 16, but 32 per cent of the more recent migrants from Bangladesh were in this category. This compares with a figure of 22 per cent for the population as a whole (OPCS, 1984).

It is therefore essential when considering the position of migrants and their descendants in relation to any facet of social or economic life in Britain to begin by recording that it is minorities and not migrant groups that must be the focus of analysis. If the problems so often associated with migration (language ability, familiarity etc) were the only ones operative in the British case then this would not be necessary. There are relatively few young migrants in Britain and their difficulties almost certainly parallel those that have been recorded elsewhere. However, those who are of migrant origin, and who are still identifiable by racial or cultural characteristics, are a much larger proportion of the total. The degree to which this is true can be seen from Table 1.2 which compares the number of actual migrants with the total size of the minority community in three cases. It demonstrates that in this 1983 sample survey, 93 per cent of those in the 15-19 year old category who could claim West Indian ethnicity or racial origin are in fact British born. The proportion declines for those from minority communities who have become more recently established. For example, in the 10-14 year age band, more than a third of those claiming Pakistani or Bangladeshi origins were in fact born abroad. Thus whatever hypotheses may be formulated on the assumption that migratory processes themselves have an effect on, say, school performance or training success, they will only have relevance for a proportion of those who are migrant descended - often a small and declining proportion. For this reason this report refers to the migrants and their descendants in British society as 'ethnic minorities'. This is not to say that migration itself is unimportant, nor that the minorities identified here are the only ones that could be separately considered. However, the relatively early experience of post-war labour migration, together with the citizenship rights accorded to those from the old Empire, and the continuing significance of race and ethnicity in the distribution of life chances and opportunities, makes it irrelevant to speak of migrants in the same way that is common in Europe, while at the same time requiring a designation that indicates a separate and identifiable status.

TABLE 1.1

POPULATION OF UK BY AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH 1979 (per cent)

Age Group	Country of Birth								
	West Indies	India	Pakistan/ Bangladesh	Other New Commonwealth	Italy	Spain/ Portugal	Other Medit-eranean	Other European	U.K.
0-4 years	0.2	1.1	2.5	1.8	1.3	1.9	1.0	2.0	6.2
5-9 years	0.9	1.7	5.9	5.1	-	3.2	3.3	3.3	7.5
10-15 years	2.4	3.6	9.0	11.9	2.4	5.7	5.2	5.3	10.2
16-19 years	4.3	5.7	7.7	10.2	3.9	2.1	6.1	3.6	6.4
20-24 years	12.0	7.7	16.1	16.7	6.1	9.2	7.1	4.6	7.0
25 years & over	80.2	80.1	58.9	54.3	86.3	77.9	77.3	81.4	62.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1979.

TABLE 1.2

MIGRANTS[1] AS A PROPORTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS BY AGE, 1983

(per cent)

Age Group	West Indian	Indian	Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	All Non-White[2]	All Ethnic Groups[3]
0-4 years	-	2	8	5	1
5-9 years	3	10	35	18	3
10-14 years	4	23	37	25	3
15-19 years	7	50	58	32	4
20-24 years	26	81	92	63	6
25 years & over	93	97	97	94	7
All ages	51	65	61	59	6

1. Those whose stated birthplace was outside U.K.
2. Incuding some groups not shown in this table.
3. Including those whose ethnic origin was not stated.

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1983 (Provisional results)

1.2 The Size and Distribution of the Minority Population

The age structure of the original migrant population, together with the subsequent processes of family completion and higher levels of age specific fertility, have assured a rapid growth in the minority population. The latest estimates suggest a growth of the West Indian, Asian and other New Commonwealth population from 673,497 or 1.5 per cent of the total population in 1961 to 1,771,000 or 3.3 per cent in 1976 (Table 2.3).

The national Census does not contain a question on race or ethnicity so that it is, in this regard, of lesser value than sample surveys. Those born in the New Commonwealth and Pakistan rose from 2.12 per cent of the population in 1971 to 2.38 per cent in 1981 which is a net increase of approximately 400,000. However, the Census does permit the calculation of numbers of persons living in a household headed by someone born in the

New Commonwealth or Pakistan and in 1981 this figure came to 2.2 million people or almost 4.1 per cent of Britain's household population in that year. Sample surveys, although less reliable, are often more up to date. The Labour Force Survey of 1983, for example, shows that for Great Britain 0.92 per cent recorded their ethnicity as 'West Indian or Guyanese', 1.45 per cent as 'Indian', 0.65 per cent as 'Pakistani' and 0.15 per cent as 'Bangladeshi', making a total of 3.17 per cent from these major ethnic groupings.

TABLE 1.3

ETHNIC MINORITIES POPULATION OF BRITAIN (numbers and per cent)

Ethnic Group	Year							
	1961*		1966*		1971*		1976+	
West Indian	223,229	0.5	390,129	0.8	540,000	1.1	604,000	1.1
Asian	223,202	0.5	389,040	0.8	461,000	0.9	636,000	1.2
Other New Commonwealth	227,066	0.5	320,590	0.7	331,000	0.7	531,000	1.0
Total population	46,104,548		47,135,510		48,749,575		54,389,500	

* England and Wales

+ Great Britain

Source: Field et al, 1981.

*Other 'New Commonwealth' includes those from Africa (including African Asians), Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and the Commonwealth countries of the Mediterranean.

The Censuses reveal that this population had been predominantly urban in its location, the majority living in the two main conurbations of Greater London and the West Midlands. Table 1.4 shows the small degree of change there has been over the last two decades in the proportions of either main ethnic category who have moved outside the urban areas into the suburbs, small towns or beyond.

TABLE 1.4

PROPORTION OF WEST INDIANS AND ASIANS LIVING IN CONURBATIONS, ENGLAND AND WALES

Ethnic Group	Year 1961	1966	1971	1983*
West Indian	79.5	78.4	76.7	80
Asian	56.0	59.2	61.5	70
Total Population	40.7	38.7	36.6	29

Source: Field et al, 1981

* Metropolitan Counties from Labour Force Survey, 1983.

Although, as we shall see in our brief discussion of housing tenure, there have been some dramatic alterations in the distribution of minorities within the conurbations, it is still true to say that these populations are heavily concentrated in urban areas. More precisely, there are two other processes of concentration at work. First, it is not all conurbations that contain significant proportions of minority population. Largely as a result of economic opportunities in the 1950's and 1960's, the West Indian and Asian descended population is now heavily concentrated in the Greater London area and the West and East Midlands. This is evident from Table 1.5.

TABLE 1.5

NEW COMMONWEALTH BORN POPULATION 1981 AS PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION

Leicester	8.43
Greater London	8.42
Bradford	7.74
Slough	7.64
Birmingham	6.37

Source: 1981 Census

The second element in concentration is the extent ot which Asian and West Indian minorities are found in the central areas of British cities. Partly as a result of housing opportunities after arrival and partly as a product of subsequent shifts in the white population, there has been a progressive tendency for Asians in particular to be increasingly concentrated in certain parts of the inner cities. Limitations on access to publicly provided housing, together with discrimination and an inability to purchase more expensive housing in the suburbs, forced both groups to rent private accommodation which was usually in the poorest and oldest parts of the inner areas. The evidence we have suggests that the concentration of ethnic minorities in the core areas of Britain's major cities is increasing. For example, in the London Metropolitan Region there was a rise of 2.3 per cent in the population born in the New Commonwealth between 1971-81, compared with a rise overall of half this amount. Similar comparisons between 'core' and 'peripheral' areas in other cities suggest the same process. The reason is not so much because of movement by minorities themselves but because of selective outward movement by whites. This is a process which is now so marked that it is becoming common to find wards, or smaller areas of cities, which have more than a half of their populations living in households headed by someone of New Commonwealth migrant origin.

1.3 The Age Structure of Minority Populations

In the 1983 Labour Force Survey those who had classified themselves as West Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin or who were born in these countries accounted for 3 per cent of the total population of Great Britain (Table 1.6). What is of interest, however, is that the proportion from these communities is larger in the younger age groups so that 6 per cent of the 0-4 year old group came from these origins, and 5 per cent in those from 5-9 years of age. As one would expect the representation of minorities is higher therefore in younger age groups.

As we have seen, it is inevitably the case that more recent migration provides less opportunity for members of a group to be born in the U.K. but it also ensures that U.K. born members of minority groups are much more likely to be drawn from the early years. Thus as Table 1.7 shows more than two-thirds U.K. born people of Pakistani or Bangladeshi origin are under ten years old compared with 23 per cent for the longer established West Indian community and 13 per cent for the population as a whole.

TABLE 1.6

PROPORTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN TOTAL POPULATION BY AGE, 1983

Ethnic Group	Age Group 0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25+	All
West Indian/ Guyanese	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
Indian	3	2	2	1	2	1	1
Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	2	2	1	1	1	0	1
Total non-white[1]	9	7	6	5	6	3	4
White[2]	88	90	92	92	92	95	94
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

1. Including some groups not shown in this table.
2. Including those whose ethnic origin was not stated.

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1983 (Provisional results)

Of much greater interest is the age structure of the minority population that takes into account both U.K. and non-U.K. births. An estimate for this is shown in Table 1.8 and it demonstrates that the tendency for natural increases and secondary migration in the early years of settlement to be relatively high produce a bulge in the structure at different age bands. For example, the proportion of West Indians in the age category of greatest concern for this report (15-24) is 29 per cent compared witn 18 per cent for Indians and 16 per cent for the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities. However, as fertility falls and secondary migration ceases (Iliffe, 1978; OPCS, 1979), the proportion of the West Indian community below ten years of age approximates that in the population as a whole at 12 per cent, while the comparable figures for the other communities are 22 per cent and 32 per cent respectively. As far as these communities are concerned therefore, they all stand to gain considerably from adequate post-school training provision, but its significance is paramount with West Indians now and will become so with Asians over the next decade. As far as European migrants are concerned, with the possible exception of Mediterranean Commonwealth peoples, their age structure - at least at the younger end of the scale - is not unlike that for the population as a whole, confirming the judgement that for Britain they do not have the usual characteristics of a migrant labour force.

TABLE 1.7

U.K. BORN POPULATION BY AGE AND ETHNIC ORIGIN, 1983

Age Group (years)	Ethnic Group					
	West Indian/ Guyanese	Indian	Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	Total Non-White[1]	White	All[2]
0.4	13	36	43	29	6	7
5-9	10	28	24	21	6	6
10-14	19	20	22	19	7	8
15-19	32	11	9	17	8	8
20-24	20	4	1	9	8	8
25 and over	6	1	1	5	65	63
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

1. Includes some groups not shown in this table
2. Includes those whose ethnic origin was not stated.

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1983 (Provisional results).

TABLE 1.8

ETHNIC GROUPS BY AGE, 1983 (per cent)

Age Group	Ethnic Group					
	West Indian	Indian	Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	Total Non-White	White[1]	All[2]
0-4 years	7	12	18	12	6	6
5-9 years	5	10	14	10	6	6
10-14 years	10	9	13	10	7	8
15-19 years	16	8	8	10	8	8
20-24 years	13	10	8	10	8	8
25 years & over	49	51	39	47	65	64
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

[1] Including some groups not shown in this table.

[2] Including those whose ethnic origin was not stated.

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1983 (Provisional results).

1.4 Population Growth

It is generally true to say that while the total population of the U.K. is remaining more or less static, the population of New Commonwealth migrant origin is increasing. This is primarily the result of higher total fertility caused by the age structure of the migrant population. That is there are more women of child bearing age in the migrant population than would be true of the population as a whole. Moreover, there is some evidence also that the age specific fertility level of Asian women is still above that for the population in general (Iliffe, 1978). However, as one would expect, the New Commonwealth population that has been in the U.K. the longest - those of Caribbean origin - demonstrates patterns of fertility that are now closer to those in Britain than those in the Caribbean. Indeed, the rate of decline in fertility is higher for the West Indian population than it is for the population as a whole and it is now probable that whatever differences still exist are the result of social class differences between the two populations and not a product of cultural variation (Runnymede Trust 1980:15). However despite the convergence in terms of fertility levels, the migrant descended population is still more likely to grow since mortality levels are so low. It will be some time before the age structure of the minority and majority populations come into line.

As far as further immigraiton is concerned, the passage of the 1971 Immigration Act and the implementation of the Nationality Act of 1981 mean that the only population from non-white territories with any chance of admission will be the dependents of those already settled here. It has been estimated that by the end of the century there will be approximately 3.3m people of New Commonwealth origin living in Great Britain. This will give a total representation in the population of approximately 5.9 per cent (OPCS, 1979). The Labour Force Survey of 1983 estimates that 5 per cent of Britain's population was 'Non-white' in that year, of which the vast majority (72 per cent) was comprised of the West Indian, Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi communities.

There are therefore many similarities in the position of minorities in Britain and migrants in Europe. Despite some political statements to the contrary in all societies of the Community, there seems to be little doubt that the same processes of transformation of migrants into minorities will occur and that they will become a permanent part of national populations. It is true, however, that the racial dimension to much recent British migration may have made this process rather clearer but it must not be assumed that a similar identification - either on grounds of race or culture - will be avoided in the rest of Europe (Cross, 1981b). In terms of the age structure of these populations, it is evident that the question of education and training is assuming a new importance. In the British case those groups who were the earliest to migrate are now most significantly represented in precisely those years when vocational training is perhaps at its most crucial. However, unlike in the rest of the Community, the early date of most post-war migration and its virtual cessation in the early 1960's means that the language question is of much less significance. Although it is true that a large proportion of certain groups (particularly those from Pakistan and Bangladesh) was born overseas, it is not the case that many of these young people had long periods of education in Asia. It is not possible therefore to conclude that language training for young people is the central issue. What appears to have overtaken it is the restrictions on opportunities that arise from the position of minorities in British society itself. It is to that question that we now turn.

CHAPTER II SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

It is important to note that whatever the opportunities or constraints suggested by the demographic structure of the minority population, there are a number of other limiting factors. The first of these concerns the location of minorities in the inner cities and the consequent housing and environmental stress to which they have been subjected. While there are some marked improvements here, it remains the case that whatever developments there are in education and training over the foreseeable future, the concentration of minorities in declining inner cities is likely to retain its overall significance. Second, it is absolutely crucial to understand the occupational and employment position of minorities, for without a clear appraisal of the degree to which economic integration has occurred, it is impossible to appreciate what opportunities or limitations there are for the development of training. Finally, although the patterns of housing, location and employment reflect the prevalance of discriminatory practices, they do not exhaust them. There is evidence of discrimination in other walks of life and some comment is needed in order to assess the extent to which policies for the development of training will have to take account of its existence. We are then in a position to judge the degree to which integration of Britain's young migrant population has occurred or, alternatively, to assess the extent of marginality that is evident.

2.1 Housing in the Inner City

In the first place it is clear from Table 2.1 that inner city location, where the majority of minority young people live, increases the probability of living in an area of 'industrial, commercial or poor residential' quality by almost five times. The differential is particularly marked in Birmingham but the generalisation appears to be true for all cities. Moreover even within the inner city there is a tendency for some minority families to be particularly likely to live in such undesirable areas.

For example, it would appear that the West Indian population in the inner areas is particularly likely to suffer from this poor environmental condition, but it is important to notice that in the case of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities they are more likely than any other to carry this disability outside the inner city region. In part at least this is a function of the definition of 'inner' and 'outer' city. The data presented here use the definition derived for the Inner City Policy and, particularly in the case of London, it would be true to say that the 'inner' area by no means comprises all the inner part of that city. However the general trend is clear and it does suggest that inner areas are particularly stressful and that minority households are even more likely than white ones to experience such stress.

TABLE 2.1

PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN 'INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL AND POOR RESIDENTIAL AREAS' (ENGLAND AND WALES)

Ethnic Group	Birmingham		London		All Cities	
	Inner	Outer	Inner	Outer	Inner	Outer
White	45.8	2.3	40.5	7.8	34.1	7.5
West Indian	58.6	5.1	31.3	4.8	33.0	8.8
Indian	63.5	16.2	36.3	4.8	50.4	4.9
Pakistani/ Bangaldeshi	75.3	(30)	45.4	18.6	35.9	18.5
Other	64.3	4.7	36.5	11.0	34.3	11.6
Total	50.5	2.6	39.3	8.0	34.3	7.7

Source: National Dwelling and Housing Survey, 1977/78.
Bracketed figures refer to percentages where there was less than 20 in the cell sample.

A similar point is discernible from Table 2.2 which uses a common measure of overcrowding to compare the experience of different ethnic groups. In the first place it is again apparent that overcrowding is more probable in the inner city although the difference is over-shadowed by the variation between ethnic groups. For example the differential between 'inner' and 'outer' location is considerably less than that between, say, the white and West Indian households. In the latter case, West Indians are almost twice as likely to be in overcrowded household conditions as would be true of the white population. In the case of the Asian population the differential is nearer to three to one and again it does not seem to differ greatly in the inner or outer areas. This consistency of pattern is largely the result of differences in family size. In fact, the higher probability of inner city location is a key factor in explaining differential housing quality. Even tenure differences diminish greatly when comparisons are made between white and black families in the inner city, as do aggregate differences in housing quality

(Brown, 1984: 113). This adds further evidence to the argument that inner city concentration is a crucial element in explaining racial inequality.

TABLE 2.2

PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS LIVING AT HIGH DENSITY*
BY ETHNIC GROUP AND URBAN LOCATION

Ethnic Group	Birmingham		London		All Cities	
	Inner	Outer	Inner	Outer	Inner	Outer
White	20.9	21.9	27.8	21.3	26.5	21.5
West Indian	47.8	55.0	50.8	48.1	49.7	48.3
Indian	70.7	61.5	65.4	56.8	65.3	56.8
Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	63.2	(77.8)	73.9	62.5	68.7	62.6
Other	52.9	16.7	50.9	40.9	51.4	40.7
Total	30.5	22.7	32.6	24.0	30.9	23.9

Source: National Dwelling and Housing Survey, 1977/78.

* Greater than 0.75 persons per room.

It used to be the case that in the years immediately after migration, multi- occupancy of houses was a major form of stress. There have been considerable improvements in relation to multi-occupancy and it is now only the Asian population which is likely to experience this form of housing stress more than the national average for inner city residents. As far as the West Indians are concerned, the dramatic improvement in this regard is almost certainly the product of a major shift into publicly provided housing. In fact West Indians are now more likely than any other group to be living in housing provided by local authorities. In urban areas as a whole the proportion of households who rent from a public authority is approximately one third whereas for the West Indian population it is nearly a half. This is evident from Table 2.3 which also shows that this particular tenure pattern tends to be maintained outside the inner areas as far as West Indians are concerned suggesting that when these families do move from the inner areas they do so as a result of local authority allocation policy. There is evidence to suggest that West Indians are particularly likely to be offered the less desirable housing estates. It is obvious that this carries with it the threat that conditions of housing stress will be perpetuated rather than resolved by local government housing policy.

TABLE 2.3

PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN LOCAL AUTHORITY HOUSING BY ETHNIC GROUP AND REGION OF RESIDENCE

Ethnic Group	Birmingham		London		All Cities	
	Inner	Outer	Inner	Outer	Inner	Outer
White	37.4	37.8	55.3	28.9	48.3	29.9
West Indian	37.9	47.5	60.9	42.3	58.8	42.5
Indian	3.3	13.1	32.6	11.6	21.8	11.6
Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	7.6	(0)	33.8	22.1	18.0	21.7
Other	8.6	20.4	44.4	19.4	41.8	19.4
Total	32.6	37.4	54.5	28.4	47.9	29.3

Source: National Dwelling and Housing Survey, 1977/78.

These measures are by no means infallible guides to the quality of housing enjoyed by ethnic minorities in Britain. However they do suggest that the original pattern, where migrants settled in poorer areas, and suffered the constraints on opportunities which arose from housing stress, have been maintained although it would be wrong to conclude that no changes had occurred. What is shown is that where a change of tenure is evident it has been into publicly provided accommodation but of the poorer kind. Similarly, there is normally a correlation between owner-occupation and high levels of housing quality but the evidence suggests that where owner-occupation occurs to a marked extent (as with many Asian groups) it is not correlated with better amenities or improved housing conditions (Smith, 1978). Thus in Greater London, for example, Table 2.4 shows that serious disrepair in the fabric of houses is more than twice as likely in ethnic minority houses that are privately owned as it is for whites in the same tenure category.

2.2 Economic Activity in Employment

The ethnic minority population of the U.K. tends to reveal higher than average rates of economic activity, partly as a result of age structure but perhaps also as a function of economic necessity. Against this however some groups, noticeably Pakistani and Bangladeshi women, are - for cultural reasons - far less likely than their white peers to be in the labour force. This is shown in Table 2.5 which also suggests that those of Caribbean origin, of either gender, are most likely to be economically active. It is important to notice that while Indian women may show age specific economic activity below that of white women, their overall level of labour market involvement is high.

TABLE 2.4

GREATER LONDON: HOUSEHOLDS WITH SERIOUS DISREPAIR BY ETHNIC ORIGIN OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AND TENURE 1979

(Percentage of the cell total in brackets)

Tenure	White/ Turkish	Indian/ Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	West Indian/ African	Other	Total
Owner-Occupied	14.6	30.1	36.0	20.9	16.2
Local authority	11.2	20.9	15.1	18.3	11.7
Private unfurnished	30.8	52.4	53.4	30.6	31.5
Private furnished	18.3	19.0	21.0	12.3	17.6
Total	16.1	28.6	25.6	19.3	17.3
N(000s)	(376)	(24)	(26)	(24)	(449)

Source: NDHS/Greater London Housing Conditions Survey.

In terms of location within the industrial structure, the position is relatively clear. All ethnic groups are over-represented in those industries to which they were originally recruited. Thus men of Caribbean origin are strongly over-represented in engineering and transport while women predominate in service industries. Asians are concentrated in manufacturing and distribution (DE, 1982). What is perhaps more important is the fact that original patterns of incorporation at the lowest levels have not also changed to any marked degree. With the exception of those of Indian descent, who include significant proportions of medically qualified men, ethnic minorities still tend to be concentrated at the bottom of the socio-economic distributions. Thus the 1981 Survey data reveal that only 13 per cent of employed West Indian men are in non-manual jobs compared with 40 per cent of the employed white male population. For women the pattern is similar but less extreme (DE, 1982:22). It is probable that a high proportion of the West Indian non-manual employees are located in the lower echelons of the nursing profession or in clerical work. It is certainly not clear that the apparently greater degree of integration of women has in fact been achieved. It is much more probable that just as minority men tend to be concentrated in the least skilled manual jobs or in the less desirable skilled areas, so too are minority women found in the least attractive sectors of non-manual employment.

TABLE 2.5

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY RATES OF POPULATION AGE 16 AND OVER BY SEX AND ETHNIC ORIGIN

Ethnic Origin	Men		Women	
	Rate	(N-000s)	Rate	(N-000s)
White	77.7	(18,991)	47.2	(20,773)
Non-White	80.2	(717)	49.4	(676)
Indian	82.5	(249)	48.1	(236)
West Indian	88.1	(171)	67.6	(186)
Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	85.8	(101)	15.5	(82)
African	60.8	(24)	40.5	(23)
Other	68.5	(172)	48.5	(149)
*All	77.8	(19,931)	47.2	(21,679)

* Includes non response on this item

Source: Labour Force Survey 1981.

This general conclusion is also supported by other survey data which also shows that, while educational attainment does improve job prospects, ethnic minority employees with lower levels of educational attainment are far more likely than whites to be excluded from non-manual employment (Brown, 1984: 199). This study also showed that lower socio-economic levels were not simply a function of industrial distributions. That is, regardless of the industrial sector ethnic minority employees are likely to be over-represented at the lower levels (Brown, 1984: 207).

Of course, socio-economic group is a poor indicator of an individual's command over resources. The evidence in this area is far from complete but what there is tends to suggest that minorities are likely to earn less than their white peers, the higher the socio-economic level they achieve. For example, Field et al (1981) have suggested that minority males in professional employment achieved only 75 per cent of the income gained by white professionals. This compares with over 100 per cent of the income earned by semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers. The reasons for this latter 'success' are thought to be associated with the age structure of the minority population, the greater prevalence of shift work and the tendency for minorities to work longer hours than whites. The same authors conclude:

> 'Owing to a combination of low earnings, a high proportion of dependants and higher housing costs, it is likely that minority households experience a greater degree of poverty than do white households' (Field et al 1981: 34).

Other evidence is less clear cut and tends to show that income differences are similar regardless of socio-economic level, whether shifts are worked or age level (Brown, 1984: 214).

As far as young people are concerned, the evidence is not entirely conclusive. On the one hand the data obtained from the National Dwelling and Housing Survey suggest that the same picture obtains as for adults except that the minority population approximates more closely that of the majority. For example, nearly 60 per cent of West Indian males are given as falling in the 'skilled manual' category compared with only 42 per cent for the white population.

2.3 Unemployment

Perhaps the most important structural inequality within the labour force lies less with the distribution of those in employment than in comparing the chances of employment itself. Earlier studies have shown that the chances of unemployment for ethnic minorities are approximately double those for the indigenous population and even with the dramatic worsening of employment prospects there is no very strong reason for thinking this has altered. Thus the Labour Force Survey showed that in 1981, when overall unemployment was only approximately 65 per cent of its current level, the unemployment rate for non-white men was 17.2 per cent and for white men 9.7 per cent. The comparable figures for women were 15.8 per cent and 8.7 per cent respectively (DE, 1982:21). The Policy Studies Institute survey of 1982 reveals a similar ratio, although at higher levels. Thus when unemployment for white men was 13 per cent, it was 25 per cent for West Indian men and 20 per cent for Asian men (Brown, 1984: 189). Partly this phenomenon is a function of the age structure of ethnic minority populations since young workers are almost always more likely to experience unemployment than men or women in their middle years. Also it is a reflection of differences in socio-economic distribution to which reference has just been made since lower levels of employment are usually less secure. This is suggested by the Indian males in Table 2.6 who have a higher average level of socio-economic status and also lower unemployment rates than other major ethnic groupings.

TABLE 2.6

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF POPULATION AGED 16 AND OVER BY SEX AND ETHNIC ORIGIN 1981

	Unemployment Rate			
Ethnic Origin		Men		Women
White		9.7		8.7
Non-White		17.2		15.8
West Indian	20.6		14.5	
African	11.0		10.3	
Indian	15.4		17.7	
Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	20.4		19.0	
Other	14.2		15.3	
No Reply		3.6		1.9
All		9.9		8.9

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1981.

However, when age controls are made, the differential still shows up although it narrows slightly. What is particularly significant, however, is that the overall figures reveal a profound difference between those who were born in the U.K. and those who were not. Thus Table 2.7 shows that non-white men aged 16-29 had a 1 in 4 chance of being unemployed in 1981. But this figure is an average and it varies from just under 21 per cent for those born overseas to nearly 37 per cent for the so called 'second generation' migrants. The proportion born in the U.K. is rapidly growing from its 35 per cent figure in 1981. By the late 1980's, we estimate that more than three-quarters of West Indians in this age group will be U.K. born. If the relative chances of unemployment remain the same, and we assume no change in the distribution of the white population by birthplace, then the projected figures would be those on the right of Table 2.7.

Of course the absolute chances of unemployment have not remained the same, they have dramatically risen which must mean that for the young members of the ethnic minority labour force, particularly West Indians, we must be approaching a state where the chances of employment are little better than evens. Certainly by 1982, the PSI study revealed that for those aged 16-19 of West Indian origin 46 per cent of boys and 50 per cent of girls were unemployed (Brown, 1984: 190).

TABLE 2.7

CURRENT AND PROJECTED UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR 16-29 YEAR OLDS BY RACE AND SEX, 1981

Ethnic Group	*Current Rates		**Projected Rates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
White	15.6	14.7	15.6	14.7
Non-White	25.0	25.1	32.7	27.6

* On present ratio of UK born to overseas born population (Men 1:2.8; Women 1:2.1)

** On projected ratio of UK born to overseas born population (1:0.33)

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1981.

There is considerable reason to suppose that while age makes a significant difference for all ethnic groups experiencing unemployment, an additional factor of great importance is the disproportinate concentration of ethnic minorities in areas of industrial and economic decline. Thus ethnic minorities are over-represented in manufacturing industry, particularly men, but jobs in manufacturing in Great Britain fell by 30 per cent between 1971 and 1983, which compares with a fall of 5 per cent for all jobs. Similarly, the inner cities have suffered far more than other areas of the country as industry has tended to relocate to the suburbs, small towns or overseas. But, as the PSI survey showed, West Indians are approximately seven time more likely to live in the inner cities than are whites, while Asians are three times as likely to do so. Thus, even if race made no difference to the probability of employment itself, West Indians and Asians would have far higher rates of unemployment through being more likely to live in areas where jobs are scarce (Brown, 1984: 192).

It is important to try and understand the relationship between unemployment rates and educational levels. Table 2.8 suggests that the relative position of blacks is worse in non-manual employment. The data are for males only from three British cities and they compare the unemployment rates for different socio-economic groups and different age categories. It is apparent that the difference between the white and non-white groups is either small or negative at low socio-economic levels. That is to say the relative position of non-whites is greatest at higher skill and occupational positions. The ratios of non-white to white unemployment rates for the same male population is given in Table 2.9 and it is important to note that the implication of these data is that, if no other attempt is made to counteract the effects of race or minority status, then increasing the skill level of minorities may increase their relative disadvantage. This is a consequence of the fact that the disadvantage of minority group membership increases with progression to the higher levels of the occupational system.

TABLE 2.8

MALE UNEMPLOYMENT* RATES 1977-78 (per cent)

Age	16-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64	
City	Wh	Bl	Wh	Bl	Wh	Bl	Wh	Bl	Wh	Bl
LONDON										
Non-manual	2.5	4.8	2.0	4.3	1.7	3.0	2.1	4.0	3.7	5.5
Skill-Manual	4.6	8.2	4.8	6.4	4.1	4.7	3.6	6.1	4.6	11.2
Other-Manual	10.4	9.3	9.5	5.7	7.4	8.1	5.7	6.7	5.8	10.9
BIRMINGHAM										
Non-Manual	4.9	13.9	1.8	5.8	2.4	3.4	1.5	21.6	6.3	9.6
Skill Manual	6.0	14.3	8.0	11.4	5.1	11.3	2.6	1.8	8.8	11.4
Other-Manual	12.4	7.8	16.2	12.2	11.7	8.1	7.0	10.4	9.5	15.0
LEICESTER										
Non-Manual	5.3	7.8	2.0	3.8	3.0	3.1	3.0	15.1	0.9	7.5
Skill-Manual	5.1	8.7	5.6	5.1	6.6	2.9	5.7	13.2	5.4	14.2
Other-Manual	11.1	4.5	5.8	3.4	10.3	10.9	11.2	22.5	10.8	14.7

Source: National Dwelling and Housing Survey, 1977/78. Special tabulations

* Grossed survey figures, including the temporarily sick and the unregistered unemployed.

NB. 'Black' = Non-white.

TABLE 2.9

RATIO OF NON-WHITE TO WHITE MALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY AGE AND CITY, 1977-78

Occupation Group	City					
	London		Birmingham		Leicester	
	16-24	25-34	16-24	25-34	16-24	25-35
Non-Manual	1.92	2.15	2.84	3.22	1.47	1.90
Skilled-Manual	1.78	1.33	2.38	1.42	1.70	0.91
Other Manual	0.89	0.60	0.63	0.75	0.40	1.45

Source: National Dwelling and Housing Survey, 1977/78 Special tabulations

Some further light is thrown on this problem in Table 2.10 which, while unfortunately offering no statistical control by age, compares the qualifications of the employed with the unemployed. It is clear that if all groups are taken then the employed are significantly more likely to have qualifications. With the exception of the Indian population, who have a higher than average proportion in either category with graduate or professional qualifications, it is clear that the disparity between the employed and the unemployed disappears in the ethnic minority population. In fact for both the West Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi groups the proportion of the unemployed with qualifications exceeds the equivalent proportion in the ranks of the employed. Part of the reason for this is clearly the fact that the unemployed are on the whole younger than the employed and will reflect greater levels of educational achievement. However it is probable that the data also reveal the same pattern that was recorded in the previous tables, namely that unless attempts are made to counteract the effects of race or ethnic identity itself, then educational or training success itself is no guarantee of employment. It is also apparent from Table 2.11 that on this dimension at least the disability arising from membership of a minority group is particularly keenly felt for women. That is, amongst the ranks of the unemployed, minority women are more likely than the unemployed in general to possess an educational qualification. For men the disparity is not so evident. It is important to note that the ethnic minority unemployed are no more likely than the white unemployed to be without a qualification. If anything the division is one of gender with all unemployed men having fewer qualifications than unemployed women, regardless of their ethnic origin.

TABLE 2.10

EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED POPULATION BY ETHNIC ORIGIN AND HIGHEST QUALIFICATION

Highest Qualification	Ethnic Group											
	West Indian		Pakistani/ Bangladeshi		Other		Non-White		White		All Origins[1]	
	Empl	Unempl	Empl	Unempl	Empl	Unempl	Empl	Unempl	Empl	Unempl	Emp	Unempl
Graduate or Profess. (incl. HNC/HND)	3	1	10	3	10	9	8	3	7	3	7	3
Teaching or Nursing	8	2	2	1	7	1	5	1	4	2	4	2
ONC/OND/ City & Guilds	6	7	4	5	6	8	5	6	10	6	10	6
A level	3	2	5	2	6	6	5	2	4	3	4	3
O level/CSE	20	29	19	20	18	27	19	24	18	22	18	22
Other professional or vocational qualific.	4	7	6	4	6	11	6	7	6	5	6	5
Sub-Total	44	47	47	34	52	63	47	44	50	42	50	42
No qualification	46	47	41	62	32	31	40	51	43	54	42	54
No reply/not applicable	10	6	12	5	16	6	12	5	8	4	8	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(000's = 100%)												

1 Including those whose ethnic origin was not stated.

TABLE 2.11

UNEMPLOYED POPULATION BY SEX, ETHNIC GROUP AND HIGHEST QUALIFICATION IN GB

Highest Qualification	Ethnic Group											
	West Indian Guyanese		Indian/ Pakistani/ Bangladeshi		Other		Non-White		White		All Origins[1]	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Graduate or Profess. (incl. HNC/HND)	1	1	3	2	11	6	4	3	3	3	3	3
Teaching or Nursing	0	5	0	3	1	2	0	3	0	4	0	4
ONC/OND/ City & Guilds	8	5	5	4	11	4	7	4	8	3	8	3
A level	1	3	2	2	3	10	2	4	3	4	3	4
O level/CSE	21	41	15	32	24	31	18	35	18	29	18	30
Other professional or vocational qualific.	9	5	5	2	12	11	8	5	6	5	6	5
Sub Total	40	59	29	44	62	64	39	54	39	47	39	48
No qualification	53	37	66	52	32	31	56	42	58	49	58	48
No reply/not applic	6	5	5	3	6	5	6	4	4	4	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

1. Including those whose ethnic origin was not stated.
Source: Labour Force Survey, 1983 (Provisional results).

It is sometimes said that the overall level of unemployment as it affects minorities is poorly represented in the available statistics because these are dependent upon registration at employment or careers offices. In fact, not all survey data is so dependent and the evidence that we have from a number of different souces now indicates that registration does not vary by race or minority status. As Table 2.12 demonstrates the most powerful indication of registration is gender and not race. Women as a whole are five times more likely to be unregistered than men so it is clear that official unemployment figures for women underestimate the degree of actual unemployment in the labour force. The extent of non-registration amongst women from these selected ethnic groups is remarkably consistent.

As far as the duration of unemployment is concerned young people in general are much more likely to become unemployed but usually for a shorter period of time than is true for older people. There is however evidence to suggest that minority men and women are more likely to suffer longer term periods of employment. Thus the PSI study showed that nine per cent of unemployed white men had been out of work for more than six months in 1982, compared with 17 per cent for West Indians and 16 per cent for Asians. The figures for women in the same situation were 5 per cent for whites, 12 per cent for West Indians and 14 per cent for Asians (Brown, 1984: 194). If minorities are found to be unemployed for a shorter time, this is mainly because a larger proportion are drawn from the younger age groups (Smith, 1981: 24-25). However duration of the current period of unemployment is, of course, not the same thing as the total amount of time spent unemployed in a designated time period. If this measure is used then evidence indicates a considerably greater chance for young West Indians to be unemployed for longer. For example, unpublished research conducted for the Department of Employment suggests that West Indian youngsters experience about twice the amount of unemployment in total as that experienced by whites (Sillitoe, 1980). Over a period exceeding five years West Indian youngsters were on average unemployed for approximately one month in every year while for whites the comparable figure was only two weeks. All of these figures will have risen with the rapid rise in unemployment levels since this research was undertaken.

2.4 The Prevalence of Discrimination

From this overview of the position of minorities in relation to the housing and occupational structure, it is evident that constraint and inequalities arise partly because of the structural location that minorities have in the inner city and labour market. In relation to the former, minorities tend to be found in areas of job loss and population decline. As cities evolve they appear to be becoming more and more spatially segregated into areas of industrial decline and migrant concentration on the one hand and suburban

TABLE 2.12

UNEMPLOYED BY UNEMPLOYMENT REGISTRATION BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP

(per cent)

	West Indian			Indian			Pakistani/ Bangladeshi			European			English/ Welsh/Scots			Total*		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Registered	79	45	59	75	49	62	72	40	61	66	35	49	80	45	64	79	45	63
Not Registered	6	36	24	7	32	19	10	29	17	16	35	27	8	40	22	8	39	22
No Reply/ N.A	15	19	17	18	19	19	18	31	22	18	30	24	12	15	14	13	16	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1979

*Total includes other ethnic groups.

sprawl and economic decentralisation on the other. Concern over overcrowding, insanitary conditions and environmental decay have tended to lead to greater decentralisation. The result is a process of progressive concentration so that minorities are increasingly found in areas of greatest decline. This often marks a break with earlier developments since it was the very buoyancy of local industry which attracted migrant labour in the first instance.

A second structural feature is also evident, this time in relation to employment and the location of minorities in the occupational structure. The fact that a higher proportion of minorities are drawn from the younger age groups itself provides a level of occupational vulnerability. It is increasingly clear that young people are the most insecure of any group within the labour force and if a community possesses large numbers of young people then this insecurity becomes endemic. Moreover migrant workers were originally attracted to the manufacturing and transport industries and it is the former which has suffered the greatest contraction in the last ten years. This is partly a result of the trade cycle but, perhaps of even greater importance, it suggests a long-run transformation in the location of industrial production.

Notwithstanding the central importance of these structural constraints, it must be emphasised that the widespread existence of racial and ethnic discrimination has exacerbated what would have otherwise been an already difficult situation. The evidence is overwhelming and persistent that discrimination exists in the allocation of houses, the provision of finance for house purchase, and - perhaps more clearly than anywhere else - in the employment and promotion of minority workers (Smith, 1974). Research carried out in 1974 convincingly demonstrated that an Asian or West Indian applicant for a semi-skilled or unskilled manual job faced discrimination on 46 per cent of occasions, although under half of those experiencing discrimination were aware of it (Smith, 1981: 120). A study in Nottingham, using both West Indian and Asian applicants for employment, found evidence of discrimination in 48 per cent of cases (CRE, 1980:12). More recent evidence suggests that young West Indians are less likely to deny the experience of discrimination, nearly 60 per cent stating thaty they had personal experience in an employment matter of being discriminated against because of their West Indian descent (Sillitoe, 1980:36). Approximately the same proportion regarded employment discrimination as either remaining the same or getting worse than in the previous five years. In the PSI national survey, West Indians were far more likely than Asians to report discriminatory experiences in being hired while, as far as attitudes are concerned, West Indians are more likely and Asians less likely than whites to perceive discrimination as being widespread.
It is the argument of this chapter that little understanding of the position of minorities in relation to vocational training can be gained without some appreciation of the problems

of the inner city, the problem of employment/unemployment and the problem of discrimination. Of course in practice these are not discrete, since long established discriminatory practices have fashioned and shaped the inner city itself and have moulded the occupational structure. In later sections of this report, a case will be made for the promotion and development of vocational training. It will become clear that such a case is not difficult to defend. However, unless developments on this front are accompanied by a concerted attempt to overcome the structural inequalities already established then they will count for very little. It is already the case that unemployed young minority members are better qualified than the indigenous population in the same position. It is also the case that the relative inequalities in employment, income and the chances of unemployment increase with higher qualifications and socio-economic position. Unless the promotion of training is accompanied by a direct onslaught on these inequalities then it sill simply exacerbate frustration and relative disadvantage.

CHAPTER III FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

Apart from concern over employment issues themselves, the educational provision for minorities in British society has received perhaps the greatest attention. This is mainly because of a sense of unease and disquiet caused by under-achievement, and evidence that a higher proportion of minority than majority youngsters find themselves in remedial classes or allocated to special units for those deemed to be lacking in self discipline or motivation.

It is worth noting however that what occurs in the school system is of particular importance for minority groups in the sense that they tend to stay within full time education longer than the population at large. This is demonstrated clearly in Table 3.1 which indicates that after the attainment of the minimum school leaving age of 16 approximately two out of three young persons leave school. For minorities on the other hand it is no more than one in two and in some cases, such as those from the Indian Sub-Continent, the proportion leaving is less than forty per cent for boys. Moreover, this tendency to remain in full time education carries through to higher age groups as well, when it is particularly pronounced for young men.

3.1 Language and literacy

The most important evidence on this subject comes from a study conducted by the Inner London Educational Authority between 1968 and 1978 (Mabey, 1981). The evidence produced in this study is in the form of mean reading scores at three age points, two within the primary school level and one towards the end of secondary school. The evidence, which is reproduced in Table 3.2 shows that the reading attainment of all groups at each age level falls below the national standard of one hundred. However the lowest point is reached by those of West Indian or Turkish Cypriot background and in both these cases the mean has fallen over the three time periods. In other words, West Indian literacy is relatively worse at the school leaving age than it is in the early years. The Asian minorities by contrast start with levels of literacy close to those of the West Indians but improve their performance as their schooling progresses. The researchers in this study had anticipated that the normal hypothesis, which proposes that length of stay will be positively correlated with educational development, would also apply in this case and that the apparent decline in the performance of West Indians would in fact conceal an improvement in those who had experienced full education in the U.K. However the data do not support this conclusion. While it is perfectly true that those with a partial education in the U.K. tend to perform at a lower level than those who have had the benefit of a longer exposure to the British educational system, it is not true that over

TABLE 3.1

PROPORTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, 1979

Ethnic Origin	Age Group			
	16-19		20-24	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
West Indian	30	53	13	7
Indian/Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	62	48	19	8
Other (Inc. Mixed)	61	52	41	17
Total Non-White	51	51	25	10
White	33	37	7	6
All Groups[1]	34	38	8	6

1. Including those whose ethnic origin was not stated.

Source: Labour Force Survey, 1983 (Provisional results).

TABLE 3.2

MEAN READING SCORES AT EIGHT, TEN AND FIFTEEN YEARS BY ETHNIC GROUP

Age in years	United Kingdom	Eire	West Indian	Indian	Pakistani	Greek Cypriot	Turkish Cypriot	Others
8	98.1	94.8	88.1	89.6	91.1	87.3	85.4	93.2
10	98.3	97.9	87.4	89.6	93.1	87.8	85.0	93.9
15	97.8	96.6	85.9	91.4	94.9	87.6	84.9	95.4
(N)	(12,530)	(229)	(1,465)	(137)	(74)	(194)	(139)	(502)

Source: C. Mabey, 1981.

time the expected gap is maintained. In fact the main effect on West Indian attainment of increased education in the U.K. appears to be a widening of the gap between those fully U.K. educated and the indigenous population and a narrowing of the gap between those who are fully U.K. educated and those West Indians with restricted education in this country. In other words the hypothesis is not sustainable because a full educational exposure in the U.K. widens the gap rather than narrows it. By contrast those who were educated elsewhere start off rather poorly placed but increase their level of performance as the years go by. This research then went on to explore whether these differences were the result of poverty and other deprivation which is more evident amongst the West Indian families. When statistical account has been taken of these factors some closure of the gap in literacy levels was noted but it was insufficient to account for the whole amount. This author concludes:

> "...the West Indian group were reading well below the indigenous group and this difference cannot be entirely explained by differences in social factors or time at school in England" (Mabey, 1981:89).

This research is unclear as to what may account for the remaining variation but it supports the proposition that it may have something to do with linguistic interference and teachers attitudes and expectations. It does not provide evidence that the poor 'self-image' of black pupils is a particularly likely explanation.

3.2 Examination performance and school achievement

Research results on lower levels of scholastic attainment now commonly conclude that the pattern evident in the research on literacy is true elsewhere (Taylor, 1981; Tomlinson, 1980). That is, the disparities in performance that might be predicted on the basis of the lower levels of literacy in English found in the Asian communities do not appear to be as important as other work on migrant communities would suggest. Indeed there is considerable evidence that Asians do as well if not better than whites with whom they can realistically be compared (Driver and Ballard, 1979). This is not to say that recently arrived Asian children do not perform badly; it is only to assert that this appears to be a self-correcting problem as higher and higher proportions of these minorities achieve full linguistic ability in English. More taxing is the continued lower levels of performance found in those of Caribbean origin. ILEA data may again be referred to in illustrating this issue (Table 3.3).

TABLE 3.3

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS FULLY EDUCATED IN THE U.K. PLACED IN THE UPPER QUARTILE ON TRANSFER TO SECONDARY SCHOOL, 1968

Ethnic Origin	English	Mathematics	Verbal Reasoning
West Indian	9.2	7.4	7.2
Asian	19.3	20.2	21.1
Indigenous	25.0	22.9	19.8

Source: Little, 1978.

As far as examination performance is concerned some recent light has been thrown on this issue by the publication of the report of the Committee of Inquiry under the Chairmanship of Anthony Rampton (Committee of Inquiry, 1981). They surveyed the level of performance found in six local authorities which together contained approximately half of all black pupils. They found that only three per cent of the West Indians achieved five or more higher grades at the school leaving exams of the CSE and '0' Level variety. Asians, by contrast, achieved this result in 18 per cent of cases which was in excess of the other school leavers found in these local education authorities. A similar level of performance was found at the 'A' Level grade which is the standard grade for entry into higher education. These data are reproduced in Tables 3.4 and 3.5.

In other words, a smaller proportion of minority youngsters than in the population at large is likely to enter the top streams of ability in secondary schools. Once there, the Asians if anything manage to close whatever gap there is but West Indians by contrast appear to decline further.

TABLE 3.4

CSE AND '0' LEVEL ACHIEVEMENTS BY RACE

	Leavers in 6 LEAs			All maintained school leavers in leaversin England
	Asians	West Indians	All other Leavers	
	%	%	%	%
No graded results (incl. those not attempting examinations.	19	17	22	14
At least 1 graded result but less than 5 higher grades.	63	81	62	66
5 or more higher grades	18	3	16	21
Total (number)	527	799	4,852	693,840

Source: Committee of Inquiry, 1981:8.

TABLE 3.5

'A' LEVEL ACHIEVEMENTS BY RACE

	Leavers in 6 LEAs			All maintained school leavers in leaversin England
	Asians	West Indians	All other Leavers	
	%	%	%	%
No 'A' Leval pass	87	98	88	87
One or more 'A' level pass	13	2	12	13
Total (number)	527	799	4,852	693,840

Source: Committee of Inquiry, 1981:8.

More recently, evidence has begun to appear on why this might be so. In the first place, when compared with whites living in the same areas, black youngsters tend to come from larger families, with poorer housing and a more disrupted home background. They therefore bring these educational disadvantages to secondary school. Second, the evidence now suggests that even within a relatively small geographical area, schools with similar catchment areas and structures may perform very differently in terms of educational achievement. Although this is yet to be clearly demonstrated, the probability is that West Indian children are more likely to attend schools where the ability mix and internal operations are less conducive to scholastic performance. Thirdly, we come back to the chances that blacks have of translating educational performance into employment. Although there is a relationship for them as for others between educational success and the chances of skilled employment, the threat of unemployment is far greater and this must have untold effects upon the motivation to succeed (Troyna, 1983).

What is not supported is any supposition that lower levels of performance reveal lower levels of interest in education itself - either on the part of children or their parents. On the contrary, recent evidence from a study of twelve non-selective schools in London shows that black pupils are able to close many of the gaps in their level of performance by the end of their schooling by staying on longer at school and re-sitting examinations. In fact, black youngsters staying on beyond the minimum school leaving age were more likely than their white peers to obtain examination success, mainly because they were more likely to sit examinations (Rutter, 1982). Similarly, data from the 1979 Labour Force Survey shows that West Indians, together with Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are also more likely than whites to be in further education both before and after they reach 18. What is particularly significant is that the differential levels of apparent enthusiasm are greatest for vocational courses. West Indian males in particular are much more likely to want an apprenticeship or to study for a vocational qualification than other groups. This may be one reason why surveys of ethnic minority populations do not tend to reveal great differences of educational attainment when controls are made for the differential age structure. For example, the PSI study of 1982 found that amongst men of 16-24, 33 per cent of whites had at least GCE 'O' level and equivalent qualifications, while for West Indian males the figure was 38 per cent and for Asians 47 per cent (Brown, 1984: 147). However, West Indians are less likely to enter University than other groups or to undertake degree courses of any description. What is equally clear however from the two tables reproduced as 3.6 and 3.7 is that the same group is particularly likely to pursue other courses, many of which will be in the vocational field. This confirms the view that this particular minority is peculiarly well placed to exploit the development of vocational training opportunities.

A great many attempts are now being made to explore the reasons for the apparent under-achievement of West Indians in British schools. These include explorations on the home background of West Indians, on teachers expectations, on interactions in the classroom, and on the experience of racial discrimination. However, we also have to entertain the possibility that these levels of apparent under-achievement may simply reflect a bias in favour of vocational rather than academic qualifications.

TABLE 3.6

DESTINATION OF SCHOOL LEAVERS BY RACE

	Leavers in 6 LEAs			
	Asians	West Indians	All other Leavers	All maintained school leavers in England
	%	%	%	%
University	3	1	3	5
Other further education.	18	16	9	14
Employment	54	65	77	74
Unknown	25	18	11	8
Total (number)	527	799	4,852	693,840

Source: Committee of Inquiry, 1981:9

TABLE 3.7

FURTHER EDUCATION COURSES (FULL-TIME) BY RACE

	Leavers in 6 LEAs			All maintained school leavers in leaversin England
	Asians	West Indians	All other Leavers	
	%	%	%	%
Degree	5	1	4	6
'A' Level.	6	2	1	2
Any other course	11	15	7	11
No course (incl unknown destination)	78	83	88	81
Total (number)	527	799	4,852	693,840

Source: Committee of Inquiry, 1981:9.

3.3 The multicultural curriculum debate

The challenge to the British educational system presented by the presence of significant numbers of minority children in schools does not end at this point. Earlier responses were dominated by the need to provide basic language education and it is now largely true that those local authorities with significant proportions of minority youngsters in their catchment areas have made some provision for language training. This has been greatly supported by the provisions of the Local Goverment Act of 1966 (Section 11) which specifically permits a 75 per cent grant to local authorities with large proportions of minorities in their areas. It would be wrong to conclude that this arrangement was entirely satisfactory, partly because it is frequently used to supplement general teaching staff and is only available for salary payments. However, at least for those whose first language is not English, it is now widely recognised that substantial progress has been made.

However, the debate has continued as to what implications there should be for the primary and secondary school curriculum in general. On the one hand there are those who maintain that in areas of high minority concentration a specific attempt should be made to modify the curriculum so as to reflect these diverse cultures and backgrounds. This may take the form of teaching mother tongue languages or providing courses in black history and culture. However, critics assert that this provision may have the unintended consequence of undermining the success of minority youngsters in the more established and occupationally significant disciplines (Stone, 1980). The implication of this position is normally to conclude that special provision is uncalled for and that what is required is a modification to the curriculum in general which should then reflect the existence of non-white minorities in British society and the circumstances which gave rise to their presence and continued difficulties. In other words, the curriculum, it is now suggested, should come to terms with and reflect the existence of a multiracial society. Recent research has concluded that there is a genuine need to press ahead with this general curriculum change which has implications for teacher-training and, in particular, for the participation of the parents of minority children as teachers, governors of schools and local inspectors (Little and Willey, 1981).

The experience in Britain suggests that problems of educational performance are more complex than was at first thought. It does not appear to be the case that in the long run the inability to communicate in the native language is the only, or perhaps even the main, difficulty encountered in the settlement and integration of minority young people. It rather looks as though when language instruction is given and other areas of support are maintained, the problem of language acquisition is of manageable proportions. On the other hand the interaction of discrimination, poverty and general disadvantage in conditions where family and community support may be fragmentary and patchy may produce problems of longer duration and greater significance. One can only conclude, however, that our understanding of these processes is at best partial and at worst plainly inadequate.

3.4 Occupational Aspirations

There is of course an impressive literature on the so-called 'transition from school work'. However, although discussion frequently takes place on the significance of occupational aspirations, educational qualifications and job-search practices there is frequently an underlying assumption that this transition is a smooth process unaffected by the wider structural constraints that this report has commented upon in earlier sections. In fact research material that focusses on race or minority status as a major independent variable, or which concentrates on the discontinuities and disruptions evident when race itself becomes a factor, are rare. It will be apparent, for example, that the research cited in the following sections is often derived from small samples and must therefore be used with even greater circumspection than would be true for other material referred to herein.

Despite the caveats just mentioned there is evidence from a number of studies to suggest that minority youngsters are particularly keen to pursue skilled work, usually for males in the skilled manual category, while for females clerical occupations seem to be the most attractive. Of course intentions are themselves highly changeable, since they are dependent upon individual judgements of the opportunity structure. It would come as no surprise, for example, to discover that as openings for young people decline generally, a higher proportion of those about to reach the minimum school leaving age decide to stay on and obtain further qualifications. Some interesting data on this process is contained in Table 3.8 which is derived from a recent survey conducted in the West Midlands of Britain. The data suggest two obvious conclusions which have been largely substantiated by other research. These are, first, that as far as minority status is concerned young males are particularly keen to enter the most rigorous form of vocational training for skilled employment. West Indian boys in particular seem to be enthusiastic in pursuing apprenticeships. The second implications is that vocational aspirations at this stage of development cause young women to opt for an alternative strategy. In general this is to stay on at school or in further education for as long as possible, although there is evidence of a difference between the sub-groups. It looks for example as it young Asian girls are more prepared to pursue academic qualifications while West Indians and whites appear to be more interested in further education which is likely to involve a much higher proportion of vocational training. However there is certainly no suggestion that young members of minority groups are uninterested in training opportunities or in aspiring to skilled employment.

TABLE 3.8

VOCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF MINORITY YOUNG PEOPLE

	West Indian		Asian		Indigenous	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Apprenticeships	43	1	52	2	31	2
Clerical	0	7	1	5	1	5
Other Skilled	3	4	14	11	14	4
Semi-Skilled/ Unskilled	5	2	6	9	7	4
Stay at School	35	69	14	38	18	43
Further Educat.	2	8	6	26	8	18
No Information	11	9	6	9	19	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(161)	(90)	(98)	(85)	(220)	(144)

Source: Adapted from Lee and Wrench, 1981.

It is sometimes claimed that minority young people reveal 'unrealistic' aspirations in that their wishes are unlikely to be achieved either because of a shortage of skilled jobs or because of their low level of achievement. Certainly there is evidence that this is the view of Careers Officers and others concerned with the advice and placement of young people in school or further education (Careers Bulletin, 1978: 24). It is hard to find evidence from the research literature itself however to suport this conclusion (Fowler et al, 1977). A study of West Indian males, for example, which compared their occupational aspirations with a group of white boys matched for educational performance showed that in only 14.2 per cent of cases did the West Indians aspire to non-manual employment compared with nearly 26 per cent of the matched whites (Dex, 1981). In direct conflict with this evidence however, the same study showed that assessments by Youth Employment Officers suggested that only three out of five West Indians were 'fully suitable' for their desired jobs compared with three quarters of the white group. The study concluded that the reasons for this disparity lie more with the perceptions of the professional staff than they do with the underlying aspirations of the young people themselves.

3.5 Job Search Activity

This issue concerns the attempts made by young people to translate their aspirations into reality or to obtain the jobs they desire. It involves both a consideration of the applications they make and the methods by which they seek out information on job vacancies. In relation to the former, there is evidence - although unavailable by age group - which indicates that the unemployed differ in the number of formal applications they made in the month prior to interview and that race is an important predictor of these differences (Smith, 1981). In this research by David Smith, West Indians are shown to lead the field with men making on average 4.4 applications in the previous month and women 4.3 White men by contrast made 3.7 applications and white women 2.4 on average. Indian applicants showed slightly less evidence of having gone through the formal channels and Smith concludes that this is probably because they are more active on an informal front. As far as young people are concerned there is evidence from a CRE study in Lewisham (South London) which showed that blacks tried just as hard as whites to find employment but with substantially less result (CRE, 1978). Although this latter study did reveal that the black applicants had fewer qualifications, the lack of success which occurred was not entirely attributable to these differences. The evidence indicates that all of those unemployed are likely to use the official agencies of job placement more than any other avenue (Smith, 1981). When it comes to young people, West Indian males are particularly likely to use the Careers Service as the major part of their job search. The same is on the whole true for young women although for Asians both sexes are less likely to employ these official agencies. There is evidence of a relationship here with language ability in that those with less capacity to communicate in English are more likely to employ unofficial means of job attainment. However informal job-search methods tend to produce lower levels of occupational position since family contacts tend not to be able to provide access to skilled employment (Dex, 1978-9: 33). As young people grow older their reliance upon formal channels of job placement declines although evidence from a study of West Indians suggests that they seek to avoid using methods of job location that will expose them to greater risks of discriminatory practices. More than half of a sample of young West Indian males avoided a direct approach to an employer while 40 per cent similarly eschewed contacts by 'phone (Sillitoe, 1980:15). There are considerable differences between the sexes as Table 5.2 demonstrates although the overwhelming conclusion must remain that minority young people are more likely, rather than less likely, to employ the official agencies in their attempts to secure their first job. Table 3.9 simply indicates that young women are more likely to respond to advertisements and to use independent agencies in their search for work.

TABLE 3.9

JOB SEARCH METHODS USED TO SECURE FIRST JOB BY RACE AND SEX

Method Used	West Indian		White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Youth Employment Service/Teacher	72.3	48.0	41.5	21.9
Informal Contacts (Family or Friends)	6.7	13.3	19.2	18.8
Direct Approaches	5.9	9.2	20.0	14.6
Advertisements	13.4	19.4	17.7	28.1
Agency	1.7	10.2	1.5	16.7
Total (N)	100.0 (119)	100.0 (98)	100.0 (130)	100.0 (96)

Source: Adapted from Dex, 1981.

3.6 Conclusion

There is evidence therefore that minority young people of both sexes aspire to skilled employment and should therefore be in a good position to benefit from vocational training opportunities. This is particularly so because, despite the greater probability of eventual unemployment, these groups appear to be as assiduous and active in their search for employment as any other groups in the community. Indeed there is evidence of a greater motivation and willingness to seek employment. It is true, however, that the fear of exposure to discrimination may be a factor in increasing the usage of official advisory and placement agencies. This again bodes well for the development of a much more rigorous and well-established training facility. However, it must be stressed that there are some doubts as to whether young people are well served by members of the

Careers Service if the assumption is made by them that ethnic minority young people have unrealistic aspirations. There is no evidence in support of this assertion. On the contrary it may well be that if young people were encouraged to aspire to occupational positions higher than those of their parents, they would be more inclined to stay on in secondary school and take the necessary examinations.

CHAPTER IV THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING SYSTEM

A White Paper was published in December 1962 that led two years later to an Act marking for the first time what could be called a training policy. The Industrial Training Act of 1964 set up a series of Industrial Training Boards (ITB's) with powers to "..impose levy on employers for the purpose of encouraging adequate training in the industry". These Boards were to be independent of direct government control but would have the power to promote training within an industry to improve both its quality and quantity. By 1970, however, the debate over training took a new turn as pressure mounted to provide more central co-ordination. Initially the new Conservative government had reacted against the retention of the levy/grant system in which ITB's cajoled industry to provide adequate training by imposing levies or witholding grants, but united pressure from both sides of industry retained that element. The White Paper of March 1973 contained two major proposals. The first was the establishment of a new agency - the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) - which would take over the supervisory role of the Department of Employment but be directed itself by representatives of employers, unions and other interested parties. The White Paper stated that the main duty of the Commission:

> .. will be to make such arrangements as it considers appropriate for assisting people to select, train for, obtain and retain employment, and for assisting employers to obtain suitable employees (Cmnd 5250:3).

The MSC also acquired responsibility for the Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS) to enable unemployed and employed adults to re-train in relevant skills and was charged with promoting training in those areas not covered by the ITB's.

The Secretary of State for Employment, to whom the MSC is answerable, retained responsibility for "..the policy of equal opportunity for workers regardless of race, colour and origin" and the establishment of the Commission did not alter the duty of local government to provide vocational guidance for young people as part of their responsibility for the provision of primary and secondary education. This point is important for it means that the main agency for the co-ordination of training, whose powers and budgets have grown enormously since 1973, is neither formally linked with the education system nor is it responsible for ensuring equal opportunity in employment.

4.1 Organisation and Finance

It is estimated that in recent years the U.K. has invested 2.5 per cent of GDP in vocational education and training (Cmnd 8455:13). More than half of this was direct expenditure by firms and by far the largest single item in these budgets was the wages paid to trainees. Most of the balance is spent through the main education allocations which in the U.K. system are controlled by local authorities but derived both from local taxes (domestic and commercial rates) and directly through the Exchequer. There is a widespread feeling that individuals should bear a larger part of this cost and that the level of wages for industrial apprentices is one of the reasons for the disastrous fall in the number of places as the present recession took effect. While it is true that places have fallen, from 100,000 in the late 1970s to 90,000 in 1980/81 and substantially less today, others would argue that this is a consequence and not a cause of government intervention and that the climate has rapidly altered, so that what was once a common business expense is now regarded far more as a central government responsibility.

Perhaps the greatest contribution made by central government to the overall provision of training opportunities is in the financing of the Manpower Services Commission itself and in the support for the educational service provided by the Department of Education and Science. The resources in cash terms provided by the Department of Employment for the MSC have risen dramatically from £125m in 1973 to £1,185m in 1981-82, steadying to approximately £1 billion in 1983-84. However, this does not exhaust the Department's role in relation to training opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities. The DE organises a Race Relations Employment Advisory Group chaired by the Minister of State for Employment which, inter alia, advises on the development of improved arrangements for industrial language training. The Department also runs a Race Relations Employment Advisory Service and has done so since 1968. It has a complement of 25 full-time advisors based in areas of high migrant concentration and is co-ordinated from London by two Principal Advisors. These Advisors mostly provide information on managing a multiracial workforce but they are specifically involved in training for managers, supervisors and shop-stewards and help to identify language difficulties.

The DE is also responsible for ensuring that the Career Service fulfills its legislative duties although the Service itself is organised and operated by local government as part of its educational service. The duties and objectives of the Careers Service are specified in a Memorandum of Guidance which requires local education authorities to examine the need for specialist officers, including those to work with ethnic minorities. The Careers Service Branch of the DE has issued a booklet entitled 'Work With Young People From Ethnic Minorities' which offers guidance to Careers Officers on cultural and social problems they may encounter in advising ethnic minority youngsters. Surprisingly, however, the booklet, while noting that officers "..may find that some black young people are seeking courses with a more formal training content" does not urge upon them the importance of trying to fulfil these ambitions, either by assisting in placing them in the better parts of the youth training system or otherwise. With the coming of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS), this has become the central issue. Nor is there any mention of the research evidence which supports the view that ethnic minority YTS trainees are at least as well qualified as whites in their areas and therefore well able to benefit from higher level provision.

4.2 The Manpower Services Commission

In April 1983, the Manpower Services Commission employed more than 24,000 people and was in receipt of an annual budget at cash prices of £1.34 billion. It was reorganised in September 1982, coincident with a move of headquarters from London to Sheffield, and now comprises three main sections covering employment services, training services and support services. The division of manpower and budget for 1982-3 between these sections is as follows:

	Budget (1982/83)	Manpower (1982)
	%	%
Employment Division	31	52
Training Division	67	42
Support Services	2	6
TOTAL	100 (£1343m)	100 (24,184)

It can be seen that particularly following the amalgamation of Special Programmes with the Training Division, which has 55 Area Offices, the MSC allocates two thirds of its substantial funds to 'training' in the broadest sense of the term, although it is still the case that the majority of staff work in employment services, particularly in the network of local Job Centres which have been established to aid recruitment and job placement. Job Centres now account for approximately a quarter of all engagements for employment.

The MSC argues that in addition to the continuation of its job placement function it has three major goals:

1. To safeguard the provision of skilled manpower for industry's present and future needs.

2. To move towards a position where all young people under the age of 18 have the opportunity either of continuing in full-time education or of entering a period of planned work experience containing work-related training and education.
3. To offer a range of services to help those job seekers who have particular difficulties in obtaining suitable work and training.

The first of these is seen as entailing the provision of apprenticeships and other skill training for young people, together with initial or re-training opportunities for adults. The second has produced a concentration of resources on vocational preparation, particularly the YTS scheme. This can be clearly seen in Table 4.1 which gives current and project allocations of MSC funds between vocational preparation and vocational training.

TABLE 4.1

MSC Estimated Expenditure by Type, 1981-86

(1981/82 prices)

	Distribution by Training Area		Per cent change on 1981/82 expenditure
	1981/82	1985/86	1981/1986
Pre-Vocational training and temporary employment			
Young people[1]	45.8	65.9	+116
Adults[2]	11.7	12.1	+54
Vocational Training			
Young people[3]	4.7	2.4	-23
Adults[4]	37.4	18.8	-24
Other (R & D etc)	0.4	0.8	+251
TOTAL	100.0 (£911.5m)	100.0 (£1368.6m)	+50

Source: MSC Corporate Plan 1982-86

1 YOP/YTS and Unified Vocational Preparation (UVP)
2 Community Programme
3 Apprentice Support (TSPA)
4 TOPS and other direct training, OPEN TEC and ITB grants.

It can be seen that total budgets are projected to rise in real terms by 50 per cent over the period 1981-86 but this increase masks a major redistribution within training. Vocational preparation courses and temporary employment schemes will double in terms of the money allocated to them in real terms while vocational training will fall by a quarter. Thus by 1986 more than three-quarters of MSC expenditure will be on vocational preparation for the unemployed school leaver and young adult but only one-fifth will be spent on vocational training in total. At that time only 2.4 per cent of the allocation will go on training for young people in apprenticeships. In fact, with the exception of the small 'Open Tech' scheme, consisting of distanced learning for technicians and junior management, expenditure on skill training for young people and adults is set to fall in absolute as well as relative terms (MSC, 1982a).

The MSC planning documents recognise the need for special provision for some groups who have particular difficulties in the labour market. Included in these are ethnic minorities whose problems are seen as "..similar in kind, though often much more acute in degree, to those of the labour force generally" (MSC, 1982a:16). There are no special facilities offered by the MSC for ethnic minorities with the exception of the Industrial Language Training Service but some special provision is regarded as particularly likely to be of value. This includes four special training facilities attached to Skill Centres which provide job assessment and short courses to young unemployed people.

4.3 Industry

The greatest recent change in the way that industry supports training has come through the revisions to the ITB system established under the 1964 Industrial Training Act. These changes arose out of a review of the employment and training legislation published in July 1980 which summarised criticisms of the ITB's. These were largely the result of the evaluative component introduced into the MSC's role by the changes in the Employment and Training Act of 1973 which then required a training levy only when adequate provision was not being made. This, and a widespread view in industry that the MSC was overly interventionist and ill-informed about real training needs, led to a considerable campaign to abolish the ITB's.

There is no doubt that even before the recent changes, the cost of running the ITB's which, when 24 were operative covered industries in which half of all employees worked, was being re-located. For example, the costs to industry fell from £281m in 1971/72 to £71m in 1978 as a direct result of changes in the 1973 Act. Since then the Secretary of State for Employment asked the MSC to institute another review of industrial training sector by sector which was published in 1981. In his request he made it absolutely clear that the MSC would be required to argue the case for the retention of ITB's sector by sector since the government wished to leave industry free to pursue voluntary arrangements. In the event, the review of 42 industrial areas, which contained a thorough investigation of the factors associated with the need for industry's specific arrangements for training in both the ITB areas and the public sector, presented a very cautious conclusion on the wisdom of abandoning statutory control at a time when the New Training Initiative had to be implemented. As the MSC report notes, in the event of abandoning this control:

> We would not have the same means as at present to influence companies or industries to move progressively towards the central training objectives; and trade unions and the education service might not be so fully involved in decisions about training policy at industry level (MSC, 1981b:6).

In fact the MSC report was divided in its recommendations. In seven of the 24 industries where ITB's existed it was united in supporting the retention of statutory machinery and a majority of the Commissioners "..considered that the voluntary arrangements proposed did not measure up to what was needed to promote training", particularly in the context of the agreed objectives outlined by the New Training Initiative (MSC, 1982a:11). However, the Secretary of State was unmoved and only agreed to the retention of ITB's in 6 sectors of the 7 recommended by the MSC, plus one other (in the off-shore oil industry), and that the job of training in the foundry industry should be retained by the Engineering Industry Training Board. Thus 16 ITB's have since been abolished; most ceasing any training function from the middle of 1982.

Amongst these 16 are 4 out of the 5 ITB's that took a lead in the recognition of the need for special provision for ethnic minorities. For example the Cotton and Allied Textiles ITB obtained a grant of £0.5m in 1974 from the European Social Fund which was to be used in part for training to assist immigrant integration. Much of this consisted of language training facilities which is also true of the efforts mounted by 3 of the other 4 ITB's (Rubber and Plastics Processing; Wool, Jute and Flax and Food, Drink and Tobacco). Supplementary provision has consisted of courses on the cultural background of migrants for supervisors and others. Very few saw the need for special provison or positive action for minorities themselves. An exception might be the Paper and Paper Products Industry Training Board which published a report by R.B. Weeks, one of its Area Training advisors, in 1977 calling for an implementation of all the provisions of the 1976 Race Relations Act in the paper industry (Weeks, 1977). Even here, however, the issues raised were essentially those of race relations and not of training provision. As the MSC itself has said:

> Little has been done by ITB's by way of positive action specifically in order to overcome under-representation of racial minority groups as defined under Sections 37 and 38 of the (Race Relations) Act, though there has been recognition of the need for positive action, most usually in relation to industrial language training (HC424-IV 1980-81, Vol.4:IV).

Apart from the rather sparse attempts by ITB's to promote a recognition of minorty needs, the other attempts by industry for special training facilities have been very few.

4.4 Other Training Providers

By contrst with the role of central government and the MSC in financing training, and local government and industry in its actual organisation and operation, no other agency makes comparable contributions. Of course, there is an increasing role for the educational service, particularly through adult nd further education, but much of this provision - particularly adult education - is non-vocational. Moreover, further education is a local authority responsibility financed mainly by central government. In January 1984, the Government published plans to take back a quarter of the £800m spent by local authorites on providing non-advanced further education for re-allocation to the MSC. The intention here is to make this form of education more responsive to industrial needs (Cmnd 9135).

The overall co-ordination of technical and business courses is the responsibility of the Technician Education Council and Business Education Council respectively, the former established in 1973 and the latter a year or so later. Their task is to set standards, award qualifications and promote vocational education. The courses themselves, however, are run in local colleges as part of further education provision and neither council fosters or promotes specialist provision for ethnic minorities although each believes that responding as it does for local demands for courses and qualifications ensures that these needs are met. Both are financed by grant from government departments as well as by the income they generate from examination fees and other activities.

Voluntary associations also figure prominently as additional supporters of vocational preparation and training. The trade unions, for example, are actively involved in sponsoring courses although most are designed to improve the performance of their own staff. An exception here is the Workers Educational Association, which has strong trade union links and which is a major supporter of vocational and other courses often organised in conjunction with adult education centres and institutes.

Finally, there are bodies in the U.K. whose prime function is the provision of certified courses and qualifications, many for vocational training. For example, the City and Guilds of London Institute is Britain's largest independent training organisation receiving half a million candidate entries for its certificates and qualifications each year. These come in from more than 200 schemes which it is responsible for organising. It runs a Skills Testing Service operating 20,000 tests a year and now works increasingly with the MSC on the YTS and on the attainment of other NTI objectives. However, City and Guilds does not run any special schemes for ethnic minorities, although it does organise a course for 'Communication in Technical English' which some Asian and European migrant workers attend.

4.5 The New Training Initiative

Current training policy in the U.K. is to implement the main conclusions of the 'New Training Initiative', originally published as a consultative document by the MSC in May 1981. This document clearly identifies the problem in terms of the need to adopt the workforce to a new technological era:

> The nature of the technological changes now being implemented throughout the world, the emergence of the newly industrialised countries, the redistribution of manufacturing capacity world-wide all mean that we have entered a period of rapid and far-reaching transition (MSC, 1981a:2).

The British system of training, depending as it does on a traditional time serving apprenticeship system for craft skills and ad hoc arrangements for others is regarded in this document as self-evidently deficient:

> ...we now lack a reliable system or clear framework for providing either the key skills the new technologies demand or the wide range of skills at many different levels which all firms increasingly need (MSC, 1981a:3).

The New Training Initiative is therefore about two changes. The first will provide training in new skills to suit changing technology, the second is to supply preparation for the more flexible world of work itself.

The task is defined as having three inter-related aspects:

1. To develop skill training including apprenticeships in such a way as to enable young people entering at different ages and with different educational attainments to acquire agreed standards of skill appropriate to the jobs available and to provide them with a basis for progression through further learning.

2. To move towards a position where all young people under the age of 18 have the opportunity either of continuing in full-time education or of entering training or a period of planned work experience combining work-related training and education.
3. To open up widespread opportunities for adults, whether employed, unemployed or returning to work, to acquire, increase or update their skills and knowledge during the course of their working lives (MSC 1981a:4).

The rest of the document makes clear that the MSC has three rather different target groups and objectives in mind. First of all, there is a need to develop skill training itself. Too few youngsters are thought to go into technical subjects and these opportunities must be established, particularly in relation to the new opportunities in, say, information technology. Second, at the adult level there is a massive re-training need while third, and perhaps most urgent, there is a need to provide pre-vocational preparation for those of lesser abilities, particularly if they are unlikely to carry on in full-time education or are very likely to face unemployment after leaving school at the minimum age of 16.

The 'Agenda for Action' published after the consultations had taken place reaffirms the triple objectives, although it is quite clear that the pre-vocational training, based upon a re-formulation and extension of the previous Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP), is the one to receive the most attention. Between the original plan of the New Training Initiative and the report in late 1981, there were extensive disorders in a number of Britain's inner cities and this was not without significance in establishing priorities. Moreover, these disorders had a racial aspect and this has tended to focus attention on the supposed needs of young blacks and Asians for pre-vocational provision.

The Government itself welcomed these new proposals and in December 1981 published a White Paper entitled a 'Programme for Action' which broadly accepted the MSC plan (Cmnd 8455). This established the successor to YOP, now re-christened the Youth Training Scheme (YTS), deferred any significant action on the skill training question until 1985 and recognised the need for improvement in adult training. The only major difference in this official statement and that of the MSC is that the Government laid much more emphasis upon education within schools and colleges to run parallel with the pre-vocational training offered on YTS. A programme was proposed to slant the education of some young people towards vocational subjects and a new series of courses was instituted for those staying on one year beyond the legal minimum school leaving age. This will be accompanied by a new examination to attain a Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education at 17+. The Department of Education and Science has initiated these courses which are clearly intended for the parallel group of young people who would otherwise become unemployed and thus be recruited to YTS. There is, however, still some tension in official thinking on this matter and it remains to be seen whether the DES view - that YTS is for the unemployed - prevails over that of the MSC which would like to see the new scheme eventually available to those who are also employed.

4.6 Youth Training Scheme

The new Youth Training Scheme, which only became fully operational in September 1983, is something of an enigma. Unlike YOP, it is a permanent scheme designed to provide for all those who do not stay on in full time education a bridge between school and work. However, it incorporates two quite separate elements. On the one hand it embodies those aspects of pre-YTS provision which aim to develop real job related skills for young people. For example, it incorporates what was hitherto known as the Training for Skills Programme whereby the MSC supports apprentices in recognised skills. In 1982-83, 25,000 young people were supported in this way including 5,000 apprentices who had been made redundant. These schemes represent about 5 per cent of YTS expenditure.

On the other hand, YTS continues and extends the vocational preparation and work experience for the unemployed which had become established under YOP. It is true that this part of YTS now lasts a year and includes 13 weeks of further education off-the-job, but many YOP entrants stayed on schemes for nearly this amount of time and many also were sent on educational courses as part of their total experience. Thus YTS incorporates a relatively small sector of initial vocational training, in which young people acquire the first part of a skills package, and a large sector of pre-vocational or non-occupation training designed to enhance employability and improve their chances of acquiring semi-skilled and unskilled employment.

To look at the vocational aspect first, YTS has sought to expand the opportunities for young people to enter firms and be trained alongside those who would have been recruited as trainees by industry itself. Private companies are encouraged to take on these additional trainees by subsidies to cover their existing training programmes. This formula is set out in the Task Group Report of 1982 which led to the setting up of YTS (MSC, 1982d). To give an example: if an employer takes on and trains 20 young people each year, he would normally be expected to pay their wages and training costs. Under YTS he can apply to become a managing agent and will then be free to take on another 30 youngsters and receive an allowance of £1,950 per annum for all 50, or £97,500. He will then be responsible for the allowance paid to the 30 unemployed trainees leaving him with £39,000 to help subsidise his annual training budget. Moreover, there is no maximum limit to the number of unemployed youngsters he can take on but he can no longer finance the training of his regular employees after exceeding the 3:2 ratio. Access to these courses is competitive with the employer retaining the right of selection. Not surprisingly the chances of subsequent employment or further training are higher here than elsewhere on YTS since an employer has already selected a young person and started him or her on a road leading to a skill that the employer regards as relevant and valuable. These schemes are identified as Mode A1 by the MSC.

The second objective, to provide a package of remedial training, work induction and pre-vocational skills, together with a taste of work itself, is achieved by one of three routes. The first is where the MSC again delegates the responsibility for the training to a managing agent (Mode A2) but this time the organization is not itself supplying skill training to its employees. It may exist solely to arrange for the sub-contracting of training to colleges and for arranging work placements wherever it can find them. Sometimes these organizations exist as private companies for profit, other times this function may be assumed by local education authorities.

The other two forms of provision are arranged by the MSC itself and not delegated to private contractors. They are known as 'Mode B' provision. The first (Mode B1) is a direct descendant of YOP and exists where the MSC works in partnership with a local charitable or community organization which assumes day to day responsibility for the young people. Mode B1 has itself come to contain three types of provision; community projects, where youngsters undertake socially beneficial works, training workshops, where elementary training is given for semi-skilled employment, and Information Technology Centres (ITeCS), where the aim is to introduce young people to computers and to encourage them to acquire computer literacy and information processing skills. Finally, a very small part of the overall provision is arranged entirely by the MSC itself (Mode B2).

In the first year of YTS (September 1983-August 1984), 460,000 places on YTS were planned but in the event only 354,000 were taken up, which represents about 60 per cent of those leaving school at age 16 or 17. The reason for the shortfall is that Mode A1 places were far fewer than had been hoped for. This may be partly the effect of a parallel initiative, called the Young Workers Scheme, which is designed to subsidise the employment of young people at low wage levels. Of those taken on in the first year 58 per cent were male and 31 per cent were on Mode B (24 per cent B1; 7 per cent B2). Unfortunately, the MSC does not separate Mode A1 and A2 in its national figures so that we do not know how this breaks down, although we do know that the Large Companies

Unit, which handles the administration of a significant part of Mode A1, recruited the services of 150 major employers who between them promised 84,000 places. A key question, which will form a part of a later chapter is, of course, the success of ethnic minority youngsters in getting on to Mode A1 schemes (Cross, forthcoming; Cross and Smith, forthcoming).

4.7 Educational Policy

In addition to YTS, another major innovation in Britain's approach to vocational and pre-vocational training is contained in a new approach to secondary and tertiary education. Mention has been made of the redirection of non-advanced further education with the intervention of the MSC, and the same approach is also evident at the secondary level. A scheme, known as the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) was announced by the Prime Minister on November 12th 1982 when local education authorities were invited to submit proposals for modifying the education of some 14-18 year olds in selective schools and colleges. Proposals were required to provide equal opportunities regardless of gender (but race or ethnicity is not specifically mentioned) for young people of all abilities to pursue four years of vocational education and work experience which will be assessed with the award of a nationally recognised qualification.

Initially 66 Local Education Authorities responded out of a national total of approximately twice that number and 14 pilot projects were chosen to represent a range of different strategies. Each will ultimately include approximately 1,000 students, 250 for each of the 4 year course. Subsequently the scheme has been extended and from September 1984 a further 46 projects have joined those established in 1983 at an initial cost to the MSC of £40m in 1984-85 and £20m for each year thereafter.

It is quite unclear whether this initiative will have any particular significance for ethnic minorities. Five of the fourteen LEAs in the first wave of provision are from parts of the country with relatively high proportions of West Indian and Asian descended people but this does not mean that the selected schools within those areas have a similar proportionate representation, let alone a particular concentration. Also, even with the extension to 60 projects, the total number of young people affected is small and it is far too early to say what the impact will be in terms of subsequent employment prospects.

4.8 Equal Opportunity Policy

'Equal opportunity' has a number of different meanings, most of which fall well short of a policy of 'positive redress' or 'positive action'. Moreover a policy of equal opportunity may well turn out to be no more than an hortatory strategy of urging conformity to a set of guidelines rather than requiring evidence of non-discrimination. There is therefore a sense in which both the term itself and the mechanisms for its implementation may be given either a 'weak' or 'strong' interpretation.

The MSC has declared itself in favour of an 'equal opportunity' policy and it is important to see whether this refers to the 'weak' or 'strong' variant. The context in which this policy has been evolved is the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) and, in particular, the Youth Training Board that oversees its operations. In October 1982 the MSC prepared a document detailing the terms of reference of the Board and it is notable that in addition to advising on the overall YTS strategy and on specific policies on standards, the Board is required to further advise on 'measures to ensure that equal opportunities are provided to young people of both sexes and whatever their ethnic origin' and on 'measures to ensure that adequate provision is made for young people with special needs'. No elaboration is offered in this paper but in April 1983 the 'Special Groups Branch' of the Training Division at MSC prepared a policy paper specifically on 'Equal Opportunities for Ethnic Minorities' and it is that paper which provides a clear indication of current thinking.

The paper notes that the YTB has declared itself committed to an equal opportunity policy and that it "..will look to all parties involved in the preparation and delivery of individual programmes, and in the recruitment of young people, to avoid discrimination and to accept the principle of equality of opportunity for all". It then goes on to discuss ways by which this policy may be put into effect. The strongest element in the detailed provision that follows is that managing agents of YTS schemes (mostly private or public companies and local authorities) will be required to treat trainees in the same way as other employees under the provisions of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act and the 1976 Race Relations Act. However, it is not yet clear whether trainees will have the right to individual complaint against discrimination through the Industrial Tribunal system and there is no evidence that the clauses of the 1975 or 1976 Act dealing with the rectification of indirect discrimination will apply. If this is not so, then it represents a serious omission, for it means that no form of 'positive action' is possible in seeking to overcome the effects of discriminatory recruitment.

The indication that a 'weak' commitment to 'equal opportunity' is likely is further sustained by the declaration that the MSC will only '... aim to achieve what is required by persuasion rather than prescription'. The fear is that this will mean a rather low key response where, for example, an employer declines to accept ethnic minority trainees for work experience from scheme sponsors. The MSC has recently been urged to adopt 'strong implementation procedures' where this occurs but may in practice prefer to preserve work placements (Fenton et. al. 1984:36). Perhaps of even greater significance is the fact that 'equal oportunity' policy is perceived as meeting the special needs of ethnic minorities. This report has argued that these needs are widely misunderstood. Therefore equal opportunity policy may do no more than provide pre-vocational and non-occupational training for minorities (see Cross, forthcoming, for an elaboration of this argument).

Although it is true that attempts have been made to ensure that managing agents and scheme sponsors on YTS are aware of the need to avoid discrimination and provide equal opportunity, and there is a commitment to monitor recruitment by race and ethnicity, the 'weak' interpretation of policy is thought by many to be inadequate. For example, the 1976 Race Relations Act permits the MSC to promote specialist training for ethnic minorities where they are under-represented in particular occupations, either nationally or locally. There is no doubt that such under-representation exists but the MSC has consistently argued that for YTS at least there is no need for this form of 'positive action'.

4.9 Conclusion

The overwhelming impression from this survey of U.K. training policy is that a veritable revolution has occurred in training, particularly in that supported by public funds. Moreover, the greater part of this new provision has been to the benefit of young people. However, it is not so much guided by a philosophy of promoting the acquisition of specialist skills as by the two principles that in times of recession and unemployment the need is for labour flexibility and the maintenance of work discipline. The perceived need to incorporate these principles accounts for the lion's share of new expenditure through the MSC. But that is not all; there is a new recognition of the need for new skills and I have attempted to show where these fit within the overall provision for youth. Finally, some observations on the current equal opportunity policy are meant to suggest that current policy might be expected to accommodate rather than transform existing labour market inequalities. Whether that is so or not will be considered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V THE EXPERIENCE OF TRAINING

The patterns of access to vocational training places are quite clearly the outcome of both supply and demand factors. This chapter will therefore start by examining the evidence on the motivation for training, continue with some discussion on the factors which appear to be important in determining who makes use of the available supply, with some final comment on how training is experienced by those who undertake it.

5.1 Training Motivation

The National Training Survey, although rather out of date, provides some evidence on the willingness of young people to undertake training, either for their present work or for different work. These data are presented in Table 5.1 and it is quite clear that both men and women in the 16-24 age band who are described as 'non-white' are more willing to undertake training than the white sample. However what is equally evident is that their motivation for training is not to enable them to perform their current work better but, on the contrary, to provide them with the means for moving to more highly skilled employment. These data are remarkably consistent across the sexes and suggest that ethnic minority men and women would be only too keen to engage in training for what they would consider to be better employment.

When it comes to the kind of course that people aspire to take there is, of course, a close correlation with occupational aspirations. This means that the apparent consistency between the two sexes disappears since men are much more likely to want training for skilled manual employment while women desire better preparation in typing, secretarial or other clerical employment. Support for this assertion is found in Table 5.2 which, however, refers to a very different sample to that in the previous table. This is derived from data gathered for all age groups from a sample of the unemployed, but it does show the expected pattern. The majority of unemployed men who have considered a course of training at all require one which provides them with a craft or trade skill. If anything minorities are even more enthusiastic for this type of course. Women by contrast - and there appears to be little difference between the races - require skills for the lower levels of non-manual employment.

TABLE 5.1

WILLINGNESS TO UNDERTAKE TRAINING OF YOUNG PEOPLE (AGED 16-24) BY RACE AND SEX, 1975/76

	White			Non-White			All*		
	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both	Men	Women	Both
Willing to train for present work	48.4	41.4	45.3	36.3	38.9	37.1	47.9	41.2	45.0
Willing to train for different work	21.2	28.3	26.5	37.7	43.0	39.5	25.6	28.7	26.9
Willing to train - other	6.1	4.7	5.5	6.9	4.3	6.0	6.3	4.7	5.6
Unwilling	19.8	24.8	21.9	16.6	12.3	15.2	19.5	24.5	21.7
Other	4.5	0.8	0.8	2.5	1.5	2.2	0.7	0.9	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Training Survey, 1975/76

* Includes those whose race was not given.

TABLE 5.2

TYPE OF TRAINING COURSE CONSIDERED BY SEX AND MINORITY STATUS (per cent)

	Men		Women	
	Whites	Minorities	Whites	Minorities
Skilled Manual	52	64	1	2
Other Manual	16	9	4	8
Typing, Secretarial, Book-keeping, Clerical	5	3	44	42
Catering, Hairdressing	2	2	9	8
Computer Programming, Data Processing	2	3	2	4
Profession or Business Studies, Nursing	2	4	7	9
Other	8	9	13	18
Not Stated	14	5	19	8
Base: all who have considered a course	(242)	(460)	(85)	(184)

Source: Smith, 1981 Table viii.7

Of course this tells us very little about whether this interest was ever translated into a concrete application and if it was whether the sponsorship of courses appears to be a significant factor. Table 5.3 is derived from the same data but on this occasion the material is available by age group so that we can understand whether the picture is as valid for young people as for others. The data suggest that young unemployed members of minority groups are particularly likely to apply for training courses; in fact they are nearly twice as likely to do so as are the whites. Although young women are less likely to apply in general this finding is not evident for West Indian women who appear as enthusiastic as their menfolk in seeking further vocational training. Approximately two thirds of men in both age groups appear to be likely to have their applications accepted and this does not differ significantly between the ethnic groups, although there is a slight tendency for Asians and whites to be less successful. Although the numbers are rather

TABLE 5.3

APPLICATIONS AND ACCEPTANCES ON VOCATIONAL TRAINING COURSES BY THE YOUNG UNEMPLOYED BY AGE GROUP, SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP (GOVERNMENT COURSES IN PARENTHESIS)

	Men						Women					
	White		West Indian		Asian		White		West Indian		Asian	
	16-19	20-24	16-19	20-24	16-19	20-24	16-19	20-24	16-19	20-24	16-19	20-24
Have applied for a course	29	22	48	36	43	36	17	15	45	53	24	13
(Of which Government sponsored)	(26)	(17)	(33)	(30)	(30)	(27)	(10)	(10)	(40)	(44)	(18)	(7)
Have been accepted for a course	19	11	33	23	19	19	4	2	42	47	20	10
(Of which Government sponsored)	(15)	(6)	(19)	(18)	(8)	(11)	(1)	(-)	(38)	(41)	(16)	(5)

Source: Adapted from Smith, 1981

small, white unemployed women appear particularly unlikely to have their applications translated into acceptances although this is not true of minority women. The numbers given in parenthesis refer to the courses which are financed by central government, normally through the Manpower Services Commission. It is clear that a vast majority of such applications are now to government provided courses and that this is particularly true for minorities whose ambitions for training seem to be largely directed through these official agencies.

Of course training provision is by no means an homogeneous entity; some courses are gateways to the highest levels of manual work while others provide much more mundane skills. In order to see how minorities fare in access to the higher levels we need first of all to consider the case of trade and craft apprenticeships most of which are provided by private firms.

5.2 Access to Apprenticeships

In Table 3.8 we looked at the vocational aspirations of a sample of young people from different ethnic backgrounds. Fortunately the same study traced these young peple through into their training courses or work. The result is that we have some indication as to how these aspirations, particularly those for apprenticeships, were translated into actual opportunities. It will be recalled that 52 per cent of the West Indian boys, 43 per cent of the Asian boys and 31 per cent of the white boys aspired to apprenticeships, usually those designed to provide a craftsman's training. The same data show however that only 14 per cent of the West Indians achieved their ambition, 9 per cent of the Asians but 22 per cent of the white boys. Although one cannot assume that the data refer exactly to the same individuals, since some changes of aspiration and intent occur, nevertheless it is quite clear that the white applicants were much more likely to achieve success. What it is also crucial to note is that this was not the result of better educational qualifications amongst the white aspirants. In fact 50 per cent of the West Indians, 48 per cent of the Asians but only 39 per cent of the white boys gained CSE Grade 5 or better in Maths and English (Lee and Wrench, 1981:99). This prompted the authors of this report to make a detailed investigation of the processes whereby minority applicants are precluded from success in gaining this apprenticeship training. They found that companies providing apprenticeships were overwhelmed with applicants and that, as a result, the recruitment policies they pursued tended to exploit informal rather than formal channels. This meant they would often recruit from certain areas without bothering to employ the Careers Service or other official agencies. Neither was it the case that they tended to use advertisements or other general means of communication as much as in the past. The result was that there was an inevitable tendency for them to take on what one employer called the 'lads of dads'. An inevitable consequence of this procedure was for minority youngsters to be disadvantaged even more than they would be by other factors. Moreover minority youngsters tended to remain on in school longer than whites and it was this which militated further against their recruitment into apprenticeship schemes. These schemes operate a very strict age criterion and if a youngster stayed in school beyond the age of seventeen they were unlikely to gain admission. The authors conclude their study with this comment:

> "The research points quite clearly to the disadvantage of ethnic minority youth when attempting to gain apprenticeships and trainee-ships on leaving school, and shows that this situation of disadvantage stems from the interface of two sets of factors: the knowledge and awareness of ethnic minority youth of the ways in which the job market operates, and the approach of employers to the selection of school leavers for jobs offering formal training" (Lee and Wrench, 1981:107).

In addition, as with all areas of recruitment, this study noted the presence of some degree of explicit racial discrimination but it was not the intention of the authors to measure this particular aspect.

5.3 Access to MSC Provision

The provision of places under the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) expanded rapidly from its inception in 1978 until it was phased out in 1983. In 1979-80, 216,000 entrants were recorded, the vast majority of them experiencing both a short training course of work preparation and a subsequent period of work experience on an employer's premises. By 1982, the throughput had risen to 553,000, comprising about 1 in 2 minimum age school leavers. The evidence was that ethnic minority young people were fully represented on these courses, even allowing for the fact that they were intended for the unemployed who contained a disproportionate number of black youngsters (Cross, et al 1983). However, evidence also existed that YOP provided very little by way of vocational training as such but was much more concerned with preparatory courses, including remedial education and so called 'social and life skills'. Moreover, ethnic minority young people were more likely to find themselves in preparatory and remedial courses and much less likely to be introduced to work in a large high technology company (Cross, et al, 1983). As a result they were also less likely to be able to translate their experiences under YOP into subsequent employment.

The important question that arises is the degree to which minorities have permeated the new Youth Training Scheme that commenced in September 1983. The latest figures on this, for the first ten months of 1984 are contained in Table 5.4. They show that during

TABLE 5.4

ETHNIC ORIGINS OF YTS RECRUITS AND STARTERS, 1984* (per cent)

Ethnic Origin	Mode A		Mode B1/B2		All	
	Recruits	Starters	Recruits	Starters	Recruits	Starters
White	95.7	95.9	91.8	92.1	94.7	94.9
Afro-Caribbean	1.6	1.6	3.8	3.7	2.2	2.1
Asian	1.2	1.2	2.1	1.9	1.4	1.4
Other	1.5	1.3	2.3	2.2	1.7	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(242,477)	(217,866)	(81,285)	(75,591)	(323,762)	(293,457)

* First ten months

Source: MSC Unpublished statistics.

that time, ethnic minorities of Afro-Caribbean or Asian origin accounted for about 3.5 per cent of YTS recruits or starters. This is a surprisingly low figure, similar to the overall representation of minorities in the population as a whole, bearing in mind the fact that we are discussing youthful populations experiencing a disproportionate incidence of unemployment. The slight differences between the 'recruits' and 'starters' to YTS show that whites are slightly more likely to start a YTS course once recruited, but this is a very small difference. Overall approximately nine out of ten recruits do in fact turn out for the scheme on the first day.

The Table (5.4) also suggests that ethnic minority youngsters are less in evidence on Mode A YTS, where the 'managing agency' is contracted to an employer or private training organisation. Further light is thrown on this important point in Table 5.5. This shows that seven out of ten white young men on YTS can expect to get on to a Mode A scheme and more than four out of five white girls. However, less than half the Afro-Caribbean boys are recruited to Mode A, the majority being sent on community projects, into training workshops or similar schemes. The under-representation of other groups on Mode A is similar but less extreme. What this means, of course, is that ethnic minority youngsters will be less likely to enter companies which will offer them a subsequent chance of specialization and skilled employment.

It will be recalled that the Task Group Report establishing YTS not only drew a distinction between Mode A and Mode B but also within each Mode of funding. One way of attempting to grasp this complexity is to consider the functions of both Mode and type. The point has been made already that most of YTS is pre-vocational or non-vocational but it also varies according to whether or not it is oriented towards employment in industry or towards community work. This may be schematically described as in Figure 5.1. Research on YTS has tended to show, unsurprisingly, that Mode A1, with its chance of starting on a skilled career in industry, is greatly preferred to other Modes or schemes (Fenton et. al. 1984). Unfortunately the ethnic statistics produced by the MSC do not permit a ready classification into Mode A1 and Mode A2. However, this can be worked out locally by reclassifying individual schemes. Table 5.6 provides data on this basis for the city of Birmingham and its surrounding area. The area covered by this office covers 3.3 per cent of the national YTS total but 14 per cent of the ethnic minority starters on YTS. What is immediately apparent is that Mode A2 is a very significant part of overall provision in the Midlands, accounting for a half of all places in Birmingham. This is because of the rapid rise of private training agencies that have risen to compensate for the relative dearth of places available in private industry.

TABLE 5.5

YTS STARTERS BY SEX AND RACE, 1984* (GB) (per cent)

Mode	Race									
	White		Afro-Caribbean		Asian		Other		All	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mode A	69.9	81.4	47.9	65.6	57.0	69.5	58.4	71.8	69.1	80.7
Mode B1										
Community Projects	15.9	10.8	23.5	17.4	11.7	13.5	22.6	17.8	16.1	11.1
Training Workshops	7.3	4.0	16.9	7.8	10.1	7.9	9.5	4.4	7.6	4.2
ITEC	2.1	0.9	3.4	1.6	4.5	2.0	3.7	2.0	2.2	1.0
Mode B2	4.8	2.9	8.3	7.7	16.7	7.1	5.7	4.0	5.0	3.0
All Schemes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(154762)	(123713)	(3454)	(2827)	(2288)	(1850)	(2616)	(1947)	(163120)	(130337)

* First ten months

Source: MSC Unpublished Statistics.

TABLE 5.6

YTS TRAINEES IN BIRMINGHAM BY MODE AND RACE 1983-85

Mode	Race				
	White	Afro-Caribbean	Asian	Other	All
A1	30.1	13.5	14.1	(23.5)	27.7
A2	49.4	53.2	52.0	(35.3)	49.9
B1	19.1	29.6	27.7	(38.2)	20.5
B2	1.4	3.4	6.2	(2.9)	1.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(6940)	(723)	(448)	(34)	(8145)*

Source: MSC Training Division (Birmingham and Solihull Area Office) October 1984

* **This table exceeds the annual figure because it amalgamates data over the two year period 1983-84 and 1984-86 where available.**

Figure 5.1

Classification of YTS by Mode

Vocational

Mode A1

Community Oriented

Industry Oriented

Mode B1
(Community Projects)
Mode B2

Mode A2
Mode B1 (Training Workshops)
Mode B1 (ITeCs)

Pre-vocational or
Non-vocational

Mode A1 is, of course, far from homogeneous. It includes a very high proportion of places organised by the Large Companies Unit of MSC and the employers are obviously drawn from the secondary or tertiary sectors. An attempt is made to incorporate this division in Table 5.7 which shows how comparatively rare are places with large or small manufacturing companies that are organized by industry itself. This is despite the fact that in the West Midlands as a whole 42.0 per cent of jobs were in the manufacturing sector in 1981, many of them in metal manufacture. This is probably caused in part by the dramatic decline in manufacturing in this part of the U.K. Between 1978 and 1983 250,000 manufacturing jobs were lost in the West Midlands County, the vast majority from metal related industries.

The next point to be seen in Table 5.7 is the dramatic under-representation of ethnic minority youngsters in the private employer sections of Mode A1. These data can be expressed differently by comparing the representation of Afro-Caribbean and Asian youngsters against whites and expressing the figure as an index out of 100. Thus a score of 100 equals parity of representation. The results are as follows:

Mode A1	Private employer (manufacturing)	37
	Public Employer	90
Mode A2	Private Training Agency	105
	Other	132
Mode B1		151
Mode B2		328

The under-representation in Mode A1, rough parity in Mode A2 and over-representation in Mode B1/B2 is clearly shown (Cross, forthcoming).

5.4 Training Coverage

One measure of training coverage is the proportion of young people who received any training for their first employment. Table 5.8 gives the overall picture for young people between the ages of 16 and 24 broken down by country of origin and sex. Although now rather out of date, it demonstrates that in the case of males approximately a third of the population born in the U.K., or whose parents were born in the U.K., had not received any training when they entered their first employment. For women the proportion is considerably higher. About one in four males and one in six females had received training for their first employment 'off the job', that is either by a system of day release or prior to taking up employment at all. The pattern for New Commonwealth migrants and their offspring is of particular interest. It shows that in the case of young men the proportion without training was considerably in excess of the national average. Moreover young men from these origins were particularly poorly placed when it came to training off-the-job, that is when training was provided by specific and tailored courses. It is this factor which differentiates them from the indigenous population since they are as likely to have received training on their first job as anyone else.

The position of women is different and not consistent. On the one hand there are clearly those who have received little training when they enter employment. This is obviously true of those from India and Pakistan, four out of five of whom had no training before their first job or whilst on it. However this is not true for West Indian young women who appear particularly likely to receive some form of training on the job. Of course, it is

TABLE 5.7

YTS TRAINEES IN BIRMINGHAM BY SUB-MODE AND RACE 1983-85 (per cent)

Mode			Race		
	White	Afro-Caribbean	Asian	Other	All
Mode A1					
Private Employers Manufacturing)	8.9	2.6	4.5	(2.9)	8.0
Private Employers (Services)	19.1	8.8	8.0	(20.6)	17.6
Public Employers	2.1	2.1	1.6	0	2.1
Mode A2					
Private Training Agency	45.6	49.9	44.4	(14.7)	45.8
Other*	3.8	3.3	7.6	(20.6)	4.1
Mode B1	19.9	29.6	27.7	(38.2)	20.5
Mode B2	1.4	3.4	6.2	(2.9)	1.9
All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(6940)	(723)	(448)	(34)	(8145)

* Includes otherwise unclassified

TABLE 5.8

TRAINING FOR FIRST EMPLOYMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE (16-24) BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND SEX

Training	Country of Origin									
	West Indies		India/Pakistan		Other New Commonwealth		Other Europe		U.K.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
None	44.1	41.5	53.8	81.1	44.4	37.2	20.0	64.6	32.0	52.8
Training on job	29.3	47.2	33.5	12.6	26.8	29.8	27.7	35.5	31.1	27.9
Off-job	16.8	6.8	10.6	6.3	21.2	29.8	28.1	0.0	25.3	16.4
Both on and off job	9.8	4.5	2.1	0.0	7.6	3.2	24.2	0.0	11.5	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Training Survey 1975/76 very likely that much of the training categorised as 'on the job' training is little more than a very perfunctory introduction to what are often unskilled or semi-skilled tasks. It is only off the job training that is likely to provide any serious coverage or opportunity to acquire a skill. This is because so few women are in apprenticeships which allow some men to acquire high levels of skill through on the job training. Of course, it must be remembered that these data were gathered before the start of either YOP or YTS but they do provide an understanding of the problems to be tackled by the New Training Initiative.

Another measure of training coverage used in the same survey was to enquire of respondents the number of training occasions they had ever experienced. Obviously this increases the possibility that some training has occurred since the coverage is now wider than training for first employment. Table 5.9 indicates the answers to this question although in this case the data are only divided by the interviewers assessment of racial origin. The same overall pattern is evident in that non-white males are much less likely to have received training than whites while the disparity for young women is far less evident as the variation shown in Table 5.8 is merged to produce a coverage figure that is barely distinguishable from the white population. Of course this table begs a number of important questions and it certainly provides no indication as to the quality of provision or its duration. Those with three or more training occasions to their credit may have done little more than have changed jobs frequently and on each occasion received some minimal basic coverage of the job requirements.

TABLE 5.9

YOUNG PEOPLE (16-24) BY NUMBER OF TRAINING OCCASIONS, RACE AND SEX (PER CENT)

Training Occasions	Race and Sex			
	White		Non-White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
None	24.7	37.1	37.8	41.6
One	41.7	35.8	34.1	35.0
Two	18.5	16.4	19.0	14.1
Three or More	15.1	10.7	9.9	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Training Survey, 1975/76

The same survey did enquire about the intention of training or instruction that individuals had received. The answers to these questions revealed that about three quarters of the training given was of a basic kind designed to do no more than provide simple skills. This proportion was approximately equal for both sexes and all races. Only a tiny proportion of training received was what one could describe as 're-training', that is designed to provide a skill in a job different from the one that an individual was engaged on at the time. The balance of training provided was intended to improve job performance or alter the way by which tasks were accomplished.

When it comes to the duration of training received, some important differences emerge. For example, men appear on average to have much more training exposure than women, almost 40 per cent of those receiving training at all had experienced a training period in excess of one year. The comparable figure for young women was only 15 per cent. These data are presented in Table 5.10 where it is also apparent that a higher proportion of white males receive long periods of training when compared with their non-white peers. For women the differences are less noticeable and, if anything, non-white young women seem to fare rather well, 43 per cent of them receiving training in excess of three months compared with a third of the white sample.

Of course these figures only refer to those who have been in receipt of training, and it must be reiterated that the chances of obtaining training are not necessarily identical in the first place. Some further light is thrown on this problem by Table 5.11 which examines the success rates of those who applied for training. It demonstrates that the vast majority of young people who apply for training receive it, but that the probability of refusal is about twice as high for the non-white applicants. The differential in terms of successful application is slightly greater for women than for men.

TABLE 5.10

DURATION OF TRAINING RECEIVED BY TRAINED YOUNG PEOPLE BY RACE AND SEX (PER CENT)

	White		Non-White		All	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Up to 1 month	24.3	45.7	25.5	45.6	24.3	45.4
1-3 months	12.2	20.8	18.9	11.2	12.2	20.5
3-6 months	8.2	8.2	7.2	10.2	8.1	8.3
6-1 year	15.6	10.3	15.7	19.6	15.9	10.6
1-2 years	12.6	7.1	13.7	7.8	12.5	7.0
Over 2 years	27.1	7.9	19.0	5.6	27.0	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Training Survey, 1975/76.

*Includes those for whom race is unknown.

TABLE 5.11

PROPORTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE (16-24) WHO APPLIED FOR TRAINING BY RACE AND SEX

Applied for:	White		Non-White	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
and received	90.5	93.9	83.9	86.6
and did not receive	9.1	5.6	15.1	13.3
Other	0.4	0.5	1.0	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Training Survey, 1975/76

5.5 Further Education

A great deal of the vocational training provided in the U.K. takes place 'off the job' at colleges of further education. This is as true for the MSC provision as it is for that provided by private companies. In fact, it is a requirement of YTS that three months 'off-the-job' training or relevant further education must be provided during the one year period. In practice, on 46 per cent of schemes this consists of further education in vocational subjects provided by further education colleges. In most other instances the education is supplied by scheme sponsors on their own premises, as for example when an industrial company makes use of its own training staff and facilities.

Previous experience on YOP suggests that the quality of this further education component varies widely from one scheme to another. In some cases trainees study for recognized vocational qualifications or receive the first year of 'off-the-job' training necessary for them to proceed to a full apprenticeship. In others, no qualifications are available and all that is provided is basic literacy, numeracy and what have come to be called 'social and life skills'.

A rather small proportion of information on 'off-the-job' training is available broken down by race or minority status. What there is suggests that black and Asian youngsters are more likely to receive training in 'social and life skills'. This tends to comprise very elementary instruction usually in remedial Maths or English or in the presentation of oneself either orally or verbally to a prospective employer. Table 5.12 demonstrates this breakdown, although not for YTS itself but for its predecessor, YOP.

TABLE 5.12

SOCIAL AND LIFE-SKILLS PROVISION ON YOP SCHEMES BY RACE

Course Content	West Indian	Asian	White
Taught Maths	40	21	17
Taught English	35	18	14
Taught how to look for jobs	41	30	20
Practiced letter writing for jobs	44	37	23
Practiced job interviews	42	34	19

Source: MSC unpublished survey result, 1980

It is clear that the West Indian trainees were twice as likely to receive this social and life-skills training, which is primarily intended to help overcome what is perceived as being difficulties of employability, as are the white recruits. An immediate assumption here might be that these young people were considerably worse off in terms of their educational qualifications when recruited to YOP schemes. In fact this is not so for all as Table 5.13 suggests. From this it can be seen that West Indian recruits are the most likely to have no educational qualifications and it is true that they are also less likely to have '0' level qualifications than Asian young people or whites. However, despite the fact that they were twice as likey to be taught English language on YOP, this survey showed that Afro-Caribbean youngsters were no less likely than other groups to possess a qualification in English. In other words, there is a danger that ethnic minority youngsters are particularly likely to be treated as needing remedial education for reasons unrelated to their actual abilities.

TABLE 5.13

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF YOP TRAINEES BY RACE

Educational Qualifications	West Indian	Asian	White
None	39	24	34
CSE	47	34	30
O Level & Above	14	42	34

Source: Courtenay, 1983.

5.6 The Experience of YOP and YTS

In general there is overwhelming evidence that young people tend to be supportive of the YTS schemes and to regard them as a significant contribution in their search for permanent employment. Of course, as the job market has grown steadily more demanding and inflexible, the support for these schemes has tended to wane. However the majority of young people still regard them as a worthwhile experience although it must be said that they are normally comparing their life and work on YTS schemes with being unemployed, which was usually their experience prior to joining. The evidence we have suggests that West Indian youngsters are particularly keen on trying to obtain training in a craft or trades skill. Insofar as the courses that they go on provide an introduction to any of these areas of employment, they are welcomed. However, chief amongst the criticisms that they are likely to voice of schemes is the view that they do not provide sufficient real training. Both in terms of content and duration, the most frequently expressed criticism is that the courses and schemes are insufficiently rigorous in their capacity to provide these skills and of an inadquate duration to enable any great competence to be attained. In a report in 1982, using qualitative data derived from interviews with young people, many West Indian males compared the training provision that they received on YOP unfavourably with that which they had left behind at school. In particular, when interviewed at a later stage after having returned to the labour market, these criticisms were even more forcefully expressed (Cross, Edmonds and Sargeant, 1983). There appears to be little doubt that what is offered on official schemes, which now comprise the majority of all training provision in the country, does not constitute anything which might approximate or substitute for the apprenticeships and other training arrangements which have hitherto been available on a larger scale.

As far as women are concerned, the qualitative study just cited examined the position of Asian girls. Its conclusion was very similar in that an overwhelming proportion praised the schemes on which they were members but felt them to be deficient in providing the skills for subsequent employment. In the vast majority of cases, the training in demand was for clerical and secretarial work. Again those who had experience of trying to translate YOP provision into permanent employment were much more likely to criticise its deficiencies than those who were currently enjoying the camaraderie and friendliness of the schemes themselves.

On the question of YOP provision, there is little doubt that schemes did tend to be organised so as to follow rather than counter traditional divisions between the sexes. It is noticeable that where schemes provide opportunities to acquire non-employment skills which may be of value in providing a greater degree of self sufficiency - and possibly allowing some financial gain in the informal economy - this provision is nearly all geared towards young men. Women do not appear to be expected to acquire any elements of this capacity or are thought already to be well trained in domestic arts. Similarly there appears to be very little attempt to counter long established and entrenched divisions in the occupational structure. If anything schemes tend to bolster rather than undermine these assumptions.

As far as YTS is concerned, evidence on the experiences of young people themselves is -unsurprisingly - very similar, although as yet systematic research is lacking. There is a widespread view, however, confirmed in some recent research, that work placements are a particularly difficult area (Fenton, et. al. 1984: 34-35). It will be recalled that work placements are arranged in one of three ways. For some the placement is with the Mode A managing agent. This is especialy the case with large firms where no further selection process is involved. All young people taken on by the firm for training will receive their work experience with the firm itself. We have noted, however, that these schemes are characterized by low levels of ethnic minority participation. The second type of provision straddles a part of Mode A and a part of B1/B2. It involves a youngser being placed with a company or other establishment by the scheme organizer or agent. It is these, of course, who are contracted with the MSC to provide the YTS package and they have the responsibility for ensuring that equal opportunities exist for satisfactory work experience. However, there is increasing evidence that small firms in the private sector may stipulate that ethnic minorities should not be sent for interview or for placement. When this occurs managing agents should report it to the MSC but many may not do so, preferring to comply in order to retain what they may consider to be otherwise excellent placements. The weakness lies with the regulations governing the delegation of authority to managing agents. These organizations may themselves act to preserve labour market inequalities by sorting their trainees according to commonly held racist assumptions about attitudes or attributes. Moreover, they are hardly in a position to counter the racism of employers offering valuable placements to the training organizations whose profitability and market success depends on the number of trainees they accommodate. It may be true that before the coming of YTS, the Careers Service or other placement agency tended to reflect wider societal assumptions about the attributes of blacks or women or other categories of the population. The difference now is that these new placement agencies often have a financial incentive in preserving labour market inequalities.

5.7 The Position of Girls and Young Women

Wherever possible an attempt has been made in the foregoing sections to compare the position of young women with that for men. However, it is important to recognise that gender as well as race affects the opportunity structure of young people. The pattern is that both appear to inhibit the occupational success of young women. Thus, women from migrant origins are almost twice as likely as whites to be in semi-skilled employment and ethnic minority girls are only half as likely to be in professional and managerial roles as ethnic minority boys.

When it comes to unemployment, the insecurity and vulnerability of Asian and West Indian young women is even more evident. One of the main reasons that West Indian youth unemployment rates are at least double those for whites is because West Indian girls are especially likely to lose their jobs in times of recession. Asian girls too - particularly those of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin - reveal staggeringly high unemployment rates, perhaps as much as five times as high as for comparable white girls. Official statistics on this topic are difficult to interpret since survey evidence that women in general are much more likely than men to withdraw from the labour market during recessionary periods and are therefore less likely to figure in the unemployment statistics, are themselves taken from the unemployment registers. However, this is not to argue that black rates of non-registration are necessarily higher than those for whites in the same area. This view has gained popularity in recent years and is often used to support the proposition that young blacks of either gender are more likely to be 'alienated' from official agencies. In fact the opposite is true and black or Asian girls, as well as black or Asian boys, are only more likely to be unregistered when unemployed because they live in areas where non-registration is higher for all young people (Roberts, et al, 1981).

The point has been made in this report that a contradiction exists between the apparent enthusiasm for education and training evinced by minority youngsters and their subsequent occupational success. With girls this pattern is even more pronounced. That is, on the one hand they reveal a greater commitment to education, a stronger interest in training courses and more concern over occupational success than even minority males while, on the other hand, they are less likely to be able to turn these resources into a steady job at a level that does justice to their abilities.

A frequent explanation for this problem is that the normal difficulties of gender and inner city residence have become magnified by the cultural characteristics of minority communities, particularly those of Asian origin. Parents are seen as applying constraints and forcing traditional roles on their female offspring that have the effect of widening the gap between aspiration and achievement. These arguments may have some substance, since some Asian communities do tend to reveal very traditional domestic roles for married women, but there is little social science research which substantiates them. It is more probable that cultural explanations have been exaggerated and that the difficulties of ethnic minority girls in the labour market are the familiar ones of an inadequate supply of jobs - particularly at higher skill levels - access to which is made harder by race and gender combined.

Girls seeking training are far less likely than boys to gain access to an apprenticeship and where they do it is likely to be in poorly paid service industries such as hairdressing. They are more likely to enter work in which they receive no training and to be located in those areas of industry - particularly the distributive trades - in which the proportion of trained personnel is very low. Where training is received, it is more likely to be 'on the job' and only one in eight girls in their first employment is likely to receive college based or 'off the job' training (Table 5.8). Even so West Indian and Asian girls are substantially less likely to receive skill training than white girls. Again, therefore, migrant descended girls are in the most vulnerable and marginal position in the labour market.

There is also no evidence that existing training courses do more than reinforce and reflect the gender based division of labour in society as a whole. Training courses train girls for women's jobs, not necessarily consciously but mainly because they reflect the expectations of employers and the aspirations of young people themselves. However, some unpublished studies of the Youth Opportunity Programme have found that the gender divisions are more evident on the schemes than within the labour market itself. This is hard to square with the planned intention of widening horizons and opening up new opportunities. Just as it is not unreasonable to expect vocational training courses to take account of and seek to combat the effects of racism in the labour market, so too such courses have a role in challenging traditional assumptions stemming from gender stereotypes.

Young women from recent migrant origins share many features in common with comparable young men. However, even though for many a working life is a high probability, they are likely to end up in the most marginal sectors of what are marginal communities. Moreover, there is always a tendency when menfolk have employment difficulties for families to become what studies of Caribbean kinship have called 'matrifocal'. That is, women come to adopt a more central role in domestic life precisely because men have to endure insecure employment and low status occupations. A recognition of this fact may be one factor in accounting for the marked interest that minority young women take in their employment since they know that an inordinate burden is likely to befall them. It is certainly untrue to contend therefore that young women have less to gain than men from enhanced opportunities for access to higher levels of the occupational structure.

5.8 Conclusion

Access to training has to be considered in the context of motivation and interest. The evidence we have is consistent with that for migrants and their descendants elsewhere; namely a motivation at least as strong as for the population at large. In fact, if anything the interest in training for traditional skilled employment is stronger in minority communities than elsewhere. But this interest and enthusiasm is not being translated into the successful acquisition of skills to a commensurate degree. This has been shown in relation to apprenticeships when they were entered through traditional avenues and it can be shown in relation to MSC schemes now that these have come to dominate the training world.

The reasons for these apparent differences in access are many, but they are likely to include overt discrimination and various kinds of indirect exclusion which include the geographical distribution of training schemes, informal avenues to recruitment and, possibly, the differential impact of age restrictions. The bias of the YTS provision towards pre-vocational training and the assumption that this form is especially suited to ethnic minorities is likely to restrain and limit the aspirations and achievements they attain.

Unfortunately since the progressive implementation of the New Training Initiative there has not been a national survey of training coverage. Earlier evidence suggests that ethnic minorities have someway to go before they achieve parity of exposure to training in general. Their disproportionate access to lower level training may mask training coverage figures even when they are collected. Black and Asian young women are in a particularly vulnerable position, having to face the racial and gender inequalities of the labour market. In some cases their ability to clear these hurdles may be further constrained by persistent expectations of low level and temporary employment.

CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

The first point to note in concluding this report is that the training question can only be understood in relation to the overall position of migrants and minorities in European societies. The concentration of migrants and their descendants in the poorer parts of European cities and in the most vulnerable sectors of the occupation structure is not the product of a lack of training and will not be transformed simply by increasing the quality or quantity of training provision. This concentration, in conditions that have aptly been described as those of an 'underclass', is the result of a progressive but selective decentralization of people and production in which white skilled workers have followed the availability of jobs outwards from major conurbations to small towns and beyond. Training provision, like all branches of education, is more likely to reflect these processes than it is to reform them. However, this does mean that vocational training - or rather its absence - is part of the problem and can therefore be part of the solution (Cross, 1981b). In other words, when coupled with a decisive attempt to stem the progressive marginalization of minorities, enhanced training provision may well assist migrants and their children in breaking into occupation positions which on grounds of racial or ethnic equity they should expect to occupy.

But what does this mean in the British case? First, there is no attempt in this report to discuss the wider issues affecting marginalization but it must be emphasised that nothing proposed here will have any lasting effect in the absence of a concerted attack on racial subordination and concentration in conditions of poverty. With that assumed the central questions become:

i) How can migrants and minorities be guaranteed quality of access to training opportunities?

ii) Is the amount of training available adequate?

iii) Is the type of training adequate?

6.1 Access to Training

In the rest of Europe, the most frequently cited barrier to training is language ability. This no longer applies in the British case. This is not to deny that there is reason to continue making language training available, but it is to assert that as far as young people are concerned there is no evidence to suggest that language deficiencies represent a significant barrier for minority youngsters at 16+. There will continue to be a case for teaching English as a second language for many years and it is quite probable that the need may even grow as the demand for primary level instruction in the mother tongue increases, or as separatist tendencies within the school system become more pronounced. However, this is not the central issue.

Much more important is the fact that informal barriers exist to the full participation of minorities in the current vocational training provision. Partly this stems from variations in geographical coverage, partly it flows from employers preferences and partly it emerges from the system of careers advice and vocational guidance. The answer is to ensure that opportunities are unaffected by residence, that age restrictions no longer have a disproportionate effect on blacks and that Careers Officers and others become aware of their role as training filters, in order that they may counteract the effects of traditional assumptions on themselves and on the employers to whom their charges will be applying.

6.2 Levels of Training Provision

The crisis in employment - particularly amongst the young - which has become a central feature of national debate since 1979 has prompted a new interest in vocational training, partly to lower labour market participation and thus unemployment, and partly to prompt or sustain economic recovery. The Manpower Services Commission has moved rapidly to establish vocational preparation arrangements covering most young people entering the labour market at 16. In 1983, as part of this process, the British Government extended the YOP schemes to provide one year's training to all unemployed youngsters under YTS. Debate continues as to whether young people should be compelled to attend by curtailing their welfare rights and whether they should or should not receive an allowance as large as that at present (¢26.35 per week). Minority youngsters - over-represented amongst the poor and unemployed - are keenly affected by these debates. There is a real fear that if allowances are cut and alternatives foreclosed then black and Asian youngsters will be forced into petty crime or other areas of the informal economy. However, if the current ferment on the training front produces a genuine expansion of high level opportunities - particularly apprenticeships - then ethnic minorities will benefit disproportionately since they contain a reservoir of untapped ability with a strong motivation to succeed in skilled employment.

6.3 The Type of Training

One of the most welcome elements in the recent policy debates on training is that they have emphasised for the first time the central importance of skill training. In the past, and still today, the vast majority of so called 'trainees' on government schemes for unemployed youth do not acquire a real skill but instead receive an introduction to the disciplines and routines of semi-skilled or unskilled work. This is because the fundamental idea motivating a large part of YTS provision is not in fact training but the employability of low achieving youngsters. Many YTS schemes are more about discipline and social responsibility than they are about craftsmanship and technical competence. The over-representation of minorities on these schemes carries with it the implication that such young people are less employable than their white peers. This report has repeatedly argued that there is no evidence for this dangerous assumption, which is more likely to create the very response it seeks to avoid than it is to lessen social unrest (Cross, forthcoming).

The expansion and development of vocational training is important. If minority youngsters have equal access to that part of provision that enhances employment and income generating possibilities then they will gain from such developments and by so doing contribute to economic growth for the first time in proportion to their abilities. However, no report of this kind can conclude without a warning that training does not provide jobs and it is not entirely clear that new jobs - even when they occur - will require training. There are grave dangers in concentrating policy decisions on to the supply side of the labour market. In the last analysis, it is the level of labour demand - not the qualities of the labour force - which will have the greatest impact on employment prospects. The attempt to improve the training opportunities for migrants amd minorities - when combined with a wholehearted attack on discrimination - can only ensure that when labour demand increases their potential is more fully realised.

Appendix A

A Note on Data Sources

The data for this report have been drawn from a considerable number of sources. Two of these however deserve special mention and comment. They are the National Training Survey of 1975-76 and the Labour Force Survey of 1983:

The National Training Survey

This survey was commissioned by the MSC to provide baseline data on skill and training levels in the U.K. labour force. The sample size was approximately 54,000, representing about 1 in 500 of the working population. The survey achieved a response rate of 72 per cent. The tables from which data in this report were taken were grossed up by multiplying actual sample numbers by a variable ratio to produce the approximate distributions in the population as a whole. The actual numbers are therefore dependent upon the reliability of the sample and the accuracy of the ratios. Distributions were checked by reference to other sources but in the case of minorities this would mean estimates from the 1982 Census. These procedures, together with very small numbers in some cases, limit the weight of analysis which can be placed on the tables produced.

The Labour Force Survey

The Labour Force survey is the U.K. part of an EEC initiative to monitor changes in the size and structure of the community's workforce. Fieldwork is carried out in the Spring of every second year by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS). The total sample size is approximately 105,000 households which normally produces interviews in about 85,000 cases. The design is two stage, selecting first by wards and then by addresses. The grossing up procedures are approximately the same as for the NTS and the limitations are therefore similar. Particular caution is necessary in tabulations with many cells or where sub-populations, such as ethnic groups, are concerned because the grossing up may mask what are in fact very small numbers of respondents. In 1984 the frequency was increased to annual and a new design was introduced. The changes are described in an article in the Employment Gazette (July, 1983) published by the Department of Employment which sponsors the survey.

Glossary of Terms

CP	Community Programme
DE	Department of Employment
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
SPD	Special Programmes Division
TW	Training Workshop (YTS, Mode B1)
YOP	Youth Opportunity Programme
YTS	Youth Training Scheme

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of Vocational Training

Vocational training of young migrants in the United Kingdom
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CEDEFOP Document

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

1986 – 142 pp. – 21.0 x 29.7cm

DE, EN, FR, IT

ISBN 92-825-6126-7

Catalogue number: HX-45-85-050-EN-C

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